



UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH



Dar.  
F352  
I33  
1793a  
v.1

Darlington Memorial Library

77. KENTUCKY.—Vol. I. Topographical Description, &c., &c. By GEORGE IMLAY. Vol. II. The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of *Kentucky*, and an Essay towards the Topography and Natural History of that Important Country. To which is added, The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boone, &c. The Minutes of the Piankashaw Council, &c. An Account of the Indian Nations, &c. Report of the Secretary of State on Public Lands, &c. Thoughts on Emigration, &c. Being a supplement to Imlay's description of the *Western Territory*. By JOHN FILSON. 3 maps. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 260 and 204, old calf. N. Y., 1793. \$10.00

Fine copy of this very rare edition, seldom found perfect.















EXPLANATION

The boundary between the United States and Spanish Dominions

Division marked down each State

Lines denoting the territory claimed by each Indian Nation

Rivers

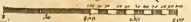
Fort

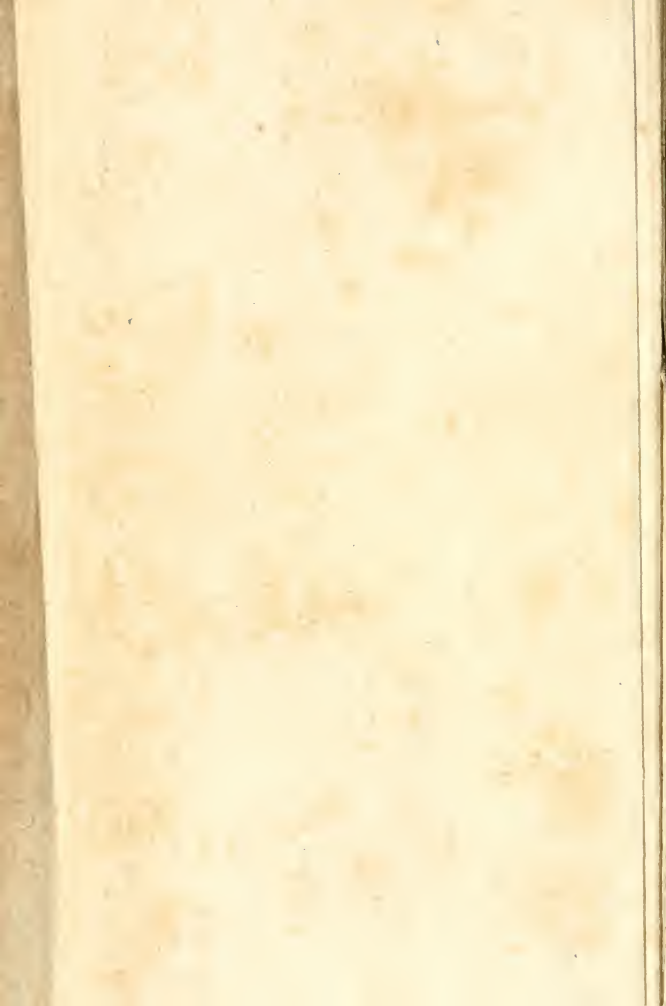
Town

Indian Towns and Villages



Scale of Miles by 1 to a Degree





A  
*TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION*  
OF THE  
WESTERN TERRITORY  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA, &c.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1900

A  
TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION  
OF THE  
WESTERN TERRITORY  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA;

CONTAINING  
A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT  
OF ITS  
CLIMATE, NATURAL HISTORY, POPULATION,  
AGRICULTURE, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,  
WITH  
AN AMPLE DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVERAL DIVI-  
SIONS INTO WHICH THAT COUNTRY IS DIVIDED.  
And an accurate Statement of the various Tribes of  
Indians that inhabit the Frontier Country.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED  
A DELINEATION OF THE LAWS AND GOVERNMENT  
OF THE  
STATE OF KENTUCKY.

TENDING TO SHEW THE PROBABLE RISE AND  
GRANDEUR OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO A FRIEND IN  
ENGLAND.

By G. IMLAY.

A Captain in the American Army during the late War, and a Commissioner for laying out Land in the Back Settlements.

❖

NEW-YORK :

PRINTED by SAMUEL CAMPBELL.

NO. 37, HANOVER SQUARE.

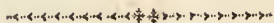
M,DCC,XCIII.

Jar  
F352  
H33  
1793a  
V.1  
cop.1

2958

66K  
6/9/32

# INTRODUCTION.



THE Author of the following Letters having been an early witness to the settlement of Kentucky, had frequently suggested to me the importance of that rising country. But I confess that, with every deference to his judgment, I was not aware how deservedly it had been estimated as of the utmost consequence. A momentous æra, during several years of which the eyes of the whole world were attentively fixed upon Europe, had so entirely occupied my mind, that, regardless of occurrences in the remote parts of America, I felt no  
incon-

inconsiderable astonishment at finding that Kentucky was to be admitted as a separate State into the federal government.

It struck me as a natural object of enquiry to what a future increase and elevation of magnitude and grandeur the spreading empire of America might attain, when a country had thus suddenly risen from an uninhabited wild, to the quantum of population necessary to govern and regulate its own administration.

It was under this idea that I requested my friend to send me, at his leisure, a complete description of the western country of America ; an enumeration of the laws and government of Kentucky ; and an account of that district of country which appeared

peared the most likely to become a new State.

All this he has done in so ample a manner, that when the news of the defeat of General St. Clair was received, I thought that the letters in question would prove acceptable to the Public, as imparting to them a more particular knowledge of that country, so apparently the bone of contention between the Indians and the Americans.

Conceiving a newspaper to be the most proper channel of communication, I offered a copy of such of the letters as I had then received, to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle. But the important crisis of the time, with respect to parliamentary business and European politics, did not admit of his devoting so large a share  
of

of that excellent paper to their insertion, as the length of the letters would have required ; and to have mutilated them, would have been doing injustice to the Author, and leaving the information incomplete. But as several other of his letters have since come to my hands, I have determined to publish them in a book, not doubting but that the world will receive as much information and amusement from them as I myself have experienced.

It is very certain that no work of the kind has hitherto been published in this country ; and when original matter is brought before the Public, surely it cannot fail to prove acceptable to the philosopher, and entertaining to the curious.

The occasional remarks, which he  
has



has interspersed, respecting the laws, religion and customs of Europe, are entitled to the greatest indulgence, as I believe them to be made with the greatest candour.

A man who had lived until he was more than five-and-twenty years old, in the back part of America (which was the case with our Author, except during the period he served in the army), accustomed to that simplicity of manners natural to a people in a state of innocence, suddenly arriving in Europe, must have been powerfully stricken with the very great difference between the simplicity of the one, and what is called etiquette and good breeding in the other.

Perhaps such a person is better calculated than ourselves to judge  
of

of our manners; and doubtless habit very materially acts upon the human mind; and since it has been too much the practice in Europe to confer favours in proportion to the servility of courtiers, I am apprehensive that we have imperceptibly lost much of our energy and manliness.

The calculated rise of the American empire, which these letters contain, will not, I think, appear extravagant, when we recollect the rapid strides which have advanced it to its present flourishing state of wealth and population.

In the life of Edward Drinker, which was published in Philadelphia, April 1783, are contained these remarkable particulars.

“ Edward Drinker, was born in a cottage in 1688, on the spot where  
the

the city of Philadelphia now stands, which was inhabited, at the time of his birth, by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders.

“ He often talked of picking blackberries, and catching wild rabbits, where this populous city is now seated. He remembered the arrival of William Penn, and used to point out the spot where the cabin stood in which that adventurer and his friends were accommodated on their arrival.

“ He saw the same spot of earth, in the course of his own life, covered with woods and bushes, the receptacles of wild beasts and birds of prey, afterwards become the seat of a great and flourishing city, not only the first in wealth and arts in America,

merica, but equalled but by few in Europe.

“ He saw splendid churches rise upon morasses, where he used to hear nothing but the croaking of frogs ; great wharfs and warehouses, where he had often seen the savages draw their fish from the river ; he saw that river afterwards receiving ships and merchandize from every part of the globe, which, in his youth, had nothing bigger than an Indian canoe.

“ He had been the subject of many crowned heads ; but when he heard of the oppressive and unconstitutional acts passed in Britain, he bought them all, and gave them to his grandsons to make kites of ; and embracing the liberty and independence of his country, after seeing the beginning and end of the British empire

empire in Pennsylvania, and after triumphing in the establishment of freedom, he died in Nov. 1782."

I repeat, that when we recollect the wonderful changes which have taken place during the life of one man, in Pennsylvania, under all the disadvantages with which the population of that country was attended, as well as the rest of America, posterity will not deem it extraordinary, should they find the country settled quite across to the Pacific Ocean, in less than another century.

I will suppose that the inhabitants of America amount at present to four millions of souls at least, and that their population doubles once in twenty or twenty-five years; at the end of a hundred years their numbers will be sixty-four millions.

This is a very simple but very obvious truth. To be sensible of this, we have only to mark the stages of its growth. For whether the secret of its amazing fecundity is owing to the great proportion of room which the extent of its territory affords, signifies very little, as it does not appear likely that any material alteration, in that respect, will take place in the course of so short a time as a century ; as the expansion of its dominion will secure the same advantages to population.

The immense extent of the American empire abounds with all climates, with every kind of soil, and with rivers so various and extensive, that it seems calculated to become a  
rival



rival to half the globe in trade and riches.

Some obstructions have interfered with the navigation of the Mississippi, which were as repugnant to sound policy on the part of Spain, as it was distressing to the people of the western country.

It was under that coercion that the people of Kentucky in convention, in the year 1788, petitioned the United States, upon the subject of their grievances; who, in consequence, remonstrated with the Court of Spain upon that subject, when some indulgence was granted, tho' that navigation was not entirely liberated.

This petition contains sentiments so pure, and so manly, that I think there cannot be a better idea conveyed



veyed of their dispositions and manners, than by inserting it at full length.

*“ Fathers, Fellow-citizens, and  
Guardians of our rights,*

“ As we address you by the appellation of fathers, we rely on your paternal affection to hear us ; we rely on your justice, as men and citizens, to attend to the wrong done to men and citizens ; and as a people recognised by the solemn acts of the union, we look for protection to the federal head.

“ When the peace had secured to America that sovereignty and independence, for which she had so nobly contended, we could not retire with our Atlantic friends, to  
enjoy,

enjoy, in ease, the blessings of freedom. Many of us had expended, in the struggle for our country's rights, that property which would have enabled us to possess a competence with our liberty. On the western waters, the commonwealth of Virginia possessed a fertile, but uninhabited wild. In this wilderness we fought, after having procured liberty for our posterity, to provide for their support.

“Inured to hardships by a long warfare, we ventured into almost impenetrable forests—without bread or domestic cattle, we depended on the casual supplies afforded by the chase—hunger was our familiar attendant, and even our unfavoury meals were made upon the wet surface of the earth, with the cloud deformed canopy for our covering.

Though forced to pierce the thicket—it was not in safety we trod—the vile savage thirsted for blood, lurked in our paths, and seized the unsuspecting hunter.”

“ Whilst we lamented the lost friend, a brother, a father, a wife, a child became the victim to the barbarian tomehawk—Instead of consolation, a new and greater misfortune deadened the sense of former afflictions. From the union we receive no support ; but we impeach not their justice. Ineffectual treaties, often renewed, and as often broken by the savage nations, served only to supply them with the means of our destruction.

“ But no human cause could controul that Providence which had destined this western country to be the seat of civilized and happy people.

The

The period of its accomplishment was distant, but it advanced with rapid and incredible strides. We derived strength from our falls, and numbers from our losses—the unparalleled fertility of our soil made grateful returns, far disproportioned to the slight labour which our safety would permit us to bestow—our fields and herds afford us not only sufficient support for ourselves, but also for the emigrants, who annually double our numbers, and even a surplus still remains for exportation—this surplus would be far greater, did not a narrow policy shut up our navigation, and discourage our industry.

“ In this situation we call for your attention—we beg you to trace the Mississippi from the ocean—survey the innumerable rivers which water  
your

your western territory, and pay their tribute to its greatness---examine the luxuriant soil which those rivers traverse. Then we ask, can the GOD OF WISDOM AND NATURE have created that vast country in vain? Was it for nothing that he blessed it with a fertility so astonishing? Did he not provide those great streams which enter into the Mississippi, and by it communicate with the Atlantic, that other nations might enjoy with us the blessings of our prolific soil? View the country, and you will answer for yourselves. But can the presumptuous madness of man imagine a policy inconsistent with the immense designs of the DEITY? Americans cannot.

“ As it is the natural right to the inhabitants of this country to navigate the Mississippi, so they have al-

so



so a right derived from treaties and national compacts.

“ By the treaty of peace, concluded in the year 1763, between the crowns of Great Britain, France, and Spain, the free navigation of the river Mississippi was ascertained to Great Britain.

“ The right thus ascertained was exercised by the subjects of that crown, until the peace of 1783, and conjointly with them by the citizens of the United States. By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independency of the United States, she also conceded to them the free navigation of the Mississippi.

“ It was a right naturally and essentially annexed to the possession of the western country. As such it was claimed by America, and it was upon  
on

on that principle she obtained it. Yet the court of Spain, who possess the country at the mouth of the Mississippi, have obstructed your citizens in the enjoyment of that right.

“ If policy is the motive which actuates political conduct, will you support this right, and thereby enable us to assist in the support of government?

“ If you will be really our fathers, stretch forth your hands to save us ; if you would be worthy guardians, defend our rights. We are a member, that would exert every muscle for your service. Do not cut us off from your body. By every tie of consanguinity and affection, by the remembrance of the blood which we have mingled in the common cause, by a regard to justice, and to policy, we conjure you to procure our rights.

“ May



“May your councils be guided by wisdom and justice, and may your determination be marked with decision and effect ! Let not your beneficence be circumscribed by the mountains which divide us ; but let us feel that you are really the guardians and asserters of our rights. Then you would secure the prayers of the people, whose gratitude would be as warm as their vindications of their rights will be eternal—Then our connection shall be perpetuated to the latest times, a monument of your justice, and a terror to your enemies.”



---

---

# TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION,

*Ec. Ec. Ec.*



## LETTER I.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

KENTUCKY.

THE task you have given me, however difficult, I undertake with the greatest pleasure, as it will afford me an opportunity of contrasting the simple manners, and rational life of the Americans, in these back settlements, with the distorted and unnatural habits of the Europeans: which have flowed no doubt from the universally bad laws which exist on your continent, and from that pernicious system of blending religion with politics, which has been productive of universal depravity.

While ignorance continued to darken the  
C horizon

horizon of Europe, priestcraft seems to have forged fetters for the human mind, and, in the security of its own omnipotence, to have given a stamp to the writings, and opinions of men, that rivetted the tyranny of those ingenious sophists—The consequence has been lamentable in the extreme.

These are æras favourable to the rise of new governments, and though nature is governed by invariable laws, the fortune of men and states appear frequently under the dominion of chances : but happily for mankind, when the American empire was forming, philosophy pervaded the genius of Europe, and the radiance of her features moulded the minds of men into a more rational order.

It was the zenith of your power, and the inflated grandeur of visionary plans for dominion, which the remains of gothic tyranny produced, that gave occasion to the rise of our independence. We claim no merit or superior wisdom in avoiding the complication of laws which disgraces the courts of Great-Britain, as well as the rest of Europe. We have only appropriated the advantages of new lights, as they have shown upon us; which you have an equal chance of doing; and your not doing it, must remain a monument of your folly, calculated to excite the astonishment and indignation of a more manly progeny. However,

ever, I shall leave this subject for the present, and proceed in order in the history, &c. &c. which you request; hoping that you will be content to receive my remarks by letter, from time to time, as I may find an opportunity of sending them.

The vestiges of civilization described by Carver and others, on this side of the Allegany mountains, are intirely imaginary. Every mark that is human has the feature of barbarism, and every comparison of the natives and animals, with those of the old world, tends to confirm the opinion of those sensible men (some of whom wrote more than a century ago) who thought that America was peopled from Scythia, by the streights of Kamatschatka: which opinion has been followed by your judicious natural historian Pennant, in his preface to his *Artic Zoology*. They say, first, "America has always been better peopled on the side towards Asia, than on that towards Europe: Secondly, The genius of the Americans has a greater conformity to that of the Tartars, who never applied themselves to arts: Thirdly, The colour of both is pretty much alike; it is certain that the difference is not considerable, and is perhaps the effect of the climate, and of those mixtures with which the Americans rub themselves: Fourthly, The wild beasts which are seen in America, and  
which

which cannot reasonably be supposed to have been transported thither by sea, could only have come by the way of Tartary." An addition to these arguments is, that the bison of Scythia, and what is called the buffalo in America, are precisely the same species of animal ; besides, the animals of both countries bear the strongest resemblance to each other.

Every thing tends to convince us, that the world is in an infant state. If it is subject to change only from the gradual wear which the operations of the elements necessarily produce, and which is so insensible as to require us to contemplate the immensity of time and space to comprehend a cause for the alterations we discover, still the various phænomena, which are every where to be found, both on the surface and in the bowels of the earth, afford sufficient proof that there has been a recent alteration upon the face of the globe. Whether or not mankind came originally from the East signifies little. It is, however, certain, that Europe was in its infancy three thousand years ago ; and that America was still less advanced to maturity, I believe also will be acknowledged ; though the barbarism of the one, and the comparative civilization of the other, is no argument : for, let our hemisphere have been peopled as it would, it had the disadvantage of having no polished country in  
the



the neighbourhood of its vast extent of dominion ; and if it received emigrants from Tartary, they were equally savage with themselves ; or if from the wreck of a Chinese, or Japanese vessel, they seem to have been too rare (if ever) to have been productive of much good to the Americans. The idea of the Incas of Peru being of Chinese origin merits no consideration.

That man possesses from nature the talents necessary to his own civilization, and that perfection of philosophy and reason which dignifies his nature, admits, I should conceive, of no dispute.

In all countries which wear the marks of age, men seem always to have been advancing their improvements for the comfort and order of society. Adventitious circumstances have rapidly increased them in modern times in the old world, while they have retarded them in the new, among the natives. The improvements in navigation led to the overthrow of two empires in America which had attained considerable improvements ; and if the natives which still remain are barbarous, we must, in justice to human nature, allow that the contempt with which the Whites have always treated them, and the nefarious policy of encouraging their fury for intoxication, have proved the only cause of it. This produced

such an effect, that the population of the Indian nations had decreased more than a twentieth nearly a century ago, according to the account of Charlevoix.

While Spain was practising the most odious tyranny, and sacrilegious inhumanity under the cloak of a detestable religion, over millions of the miserable Americans, gorging an insatiable avarice in the glittering mines of the new world, England and France, with more humanity, opened settlements in North America. Other European powers had some part in these settlements ; but, after some changes previous to the beginning of the present century, England seems to have been left in quiet possession of the country, lying upon the Atlantic coast from East Florida to the Bay of Fundy. The French, in the meantime, were rearing a colony in the inhospitable and frozen forests of Canada. The ambition of Lewis XIV. and the dazzling scenery which the grandeur of his projects displayed, alone could have prompted that people to have persevered in so ruinous an undertaking. But in pursuing the great object of that voracious tyrant, the river St. Lawrence was ascended, Lake Ontario was traversed, the falls of Niagara were passed, and following the waters which lead to the Mississippi river, the delectable

table country of Louisiana opened in all the splendour and variety of its charms.

After the treaty of Utrecht, both nations continued quietly the object of aggrandizement. The plan of France was insidious. In possession of the mouth of the river Mississippi, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico in about lat.  $29^{\circ}$ , and the river St. Lawrence, which empties into the sea between Cape North and the coast of Labrador, to the northward of lat.  $48^{\circ}$ , she seems to have contemplated the consolidation of this vast empire. Missionaries were every where employed to convert the natives; and so successful were they, that a person, even in times of hostility, speaking French, will find security from the attachment of the people to every thing which is French.

The miscarriage of the celebrated scheme of Law's for settling Louisiana, for a time retarded the progress of that colossal plan. But the communication between Canada and Louisiana being fixed and secured by fortresses at Niagara and Detroit, and the Indians being universally friendly to the French, the features of the Titan was discovered in their erecting Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Mononahala and Allegany rivers, which form the Ohio. This led to the war between England and France in the year 1755, as you may well recollect. But though that war

termi-

terminated so gloriously for Great Britain, and secure for the then colonies, still we remained ignorant of the whole of the fine country lying between the high hills, which rise from Great Sandy river, approximate the Allegany mountain, and extending down the Ohio to its confluence with the Mississippi, and back to those ridges of mountains, which traverse America in a S. W. b. W. direction, until they are lost in the flat lands of West Florida. However, certain men, called Long Hunters, from Virginia and North Carolina, by penetrating these mountains (which ramify into a country 200 miles over from east to west, called the wilderness), were fascinated with the beauty and luxuriance of the country on the western side, which their enraptured imaginations could not find words sufficient to depict.

A grant had been sold by the Six Nations of Indians to some British commissioners at Fort Stanwix in 1768, which comprehended this country, and which afforded the Americans a pretext for a right to settle it; but it was not yet sufficiently known, and those Indian natives who were not concerned in the grant, became dissatisfied with the prospect of a settlement which might become so dangerous a thorn in their side, and committed some massacres upon the first explorers of the country. However, after the expedition of  
Lord

Lord Dunmore in 1774, and the battle at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the army of colonel Lewis and the confederated tribes of Indians (in which these intrepid people suffered severely), they were in some measure quiet. The assembly of Virginia began now to encourage the peopling that district of country called Kentucky, from the name of a river which runs nearly through the middle of it. This encouragement consisted in offering 400 acres of land to every person, who engaged to build a cabin, clear a piece of land, and produce a crop of Indian-corn. This was called a settlement right. Some hundreds of these settlements were made; but, in the mean time, Mr. Richard Henderson of North Carolina, a man of no inconsiderable abilities, and more enterprise; had obtained a grant from the Cherokee tribe of Indians for this same tract of country; and though it was contrary to the laws of the land for any private citizen to make purchases of the Indians, still Mr. Henderson persevered in his intention of establishing a colony of his own. To the inhabitants he intended to grant the power of making their own laws, while he retained the executive authority in his own hands. He actually took possession of the country, with many of his followers, where he remained pretty quiet, making very little improvement, Virginia being at that time entirely occupied with the



the war which had commenced between Great Britain and the confederated states. Most of the young men from the back settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who would have migrated to this country, having engaged in the war, formed that body of men called Rifle-men; which not only checked the growth of the settlement, but so dried up the sources of emigration, that it was near being annihilated by the fury of the savages, who were hurried on by the emissaries of the government of Canada.

Though a considerable number of inhabitants had fled from the different states to this country, in search of an asylum against the calamities of the war on the other side of the mountains in 1778, 1779, and 1780, yet so distressed was the settlement during this last year, after a rigorous winter, which had been more than usually severe upon the continent, that the settlers judged right, when they determined to abandon the country forever; but they were diverted from this step by a seasonable reinforcement of emigrants, after having experienced every horror which a sanguinary war can produce.

The legality of Mr. Henderson's claim was investigated by the state of Virginia in 1781; and though there could be no sort of equity in it, he having acted in contempt of the state, the legislature, to avoid feuds or disturbances  
(for



(for Henderson still had influence), agreed, as an indemnification for the expence and trouble he had been at, that he should be allowed a tract of country twelve miles square, lying in the forks of the Ohio and Green rivers: a tract of his own chusing.

Virginia gave farther rewards and encouragements at this time to the first settlers, for the perils they had undergone in the establishment of their settlement, of a tract of a 1000 acres, called a pre-emption right, to be laid off adjoining to the settlement of 400 acres, the grantee only paying office fees for the same. After this period (i. e. 1781), a land office was opened by the state, granting warrants for any quantity of unlocated land, upon condition of certain sums of depreciated continental currency being paid into the treasury, at so much for an hundred acres. The great plenty and little value of this money soon caused the whole country to be located, which was one of the material causes of its rapid population.

It was necessary, in the management of this business, that care should be taken to prevent that perplexity and litigation, which the vague manner in which that business was executed in many instances, would necessarily produce. For this purpose, three principal surveyors were appointed, who were to lay, or cause to be laid off, by their deputies, the different locations within the limits of their districts: this

this being done, and recorded in the office, the original survey was sent to the deputy register's office, there to be recorded; from which it was sent to the principal register's office at Richmond, the seat of government, there to remain twelve months, in order that any person having a claim, by virtue of a prior location, might have an opportunity to enter a caveat, and prevent a surreptitious grant from issuing. Commissioners were also sent to adjust the claims of settlement and pre-emption rights; by which means order was preserved, and the government of a district of country, detached, and separated at that time more than 200 miles from any other settled country—a country which had grown up under the devastation of a most barbarous Indian and civil war, and under the miseries of famine and distress, settled by all orders of men in the United States, men of different interests, and different politics, was preserved; and the order and quiet, which prevailed in 1784, was sufficient to have induced a stranger to have believed that he was living under an old settled government. Such is the science of jurisprudence, when it works upon simple, but substantial springs. Hence arises harmony without expence, and equity without litigation. Here are no musty forms, to lead you into labyrinths of doubt and perplexity, no contradictory cases and reports to distract your opinions:—

opinions:—our decisions are governed by acts of the legislature. decreed upon the elementary principles of truth and justice.

After the peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1783, the settlement of Kentucky was considered as formed; but it was not yet determined, whether it was to be an appendage of Virginia or not. The United States claimed the back country as the property of the whole union, which should be appropriated to the use of the federal government; but Virginia urged the right of the charter granted by James I. which described its boundaries in this strange way.—To commence at a point southward of the capes of Chesapeak Bay, in lat.  $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  running due west from thence, then setting off from the said beginning, and running to lat.  $37^{\circ} 57'$  upon the coast, which is a little to the northward of the said capes, and then running a north-west course. This indefinite grant, having no actual boundaries seems to have originated; in the belief of the times of its birth, *i. e.* that the Atlantic and Pacific oceans were only divided by a narrow tract of country. This grant forming a kind of obtuse angle, expanding as it advanced westward, comprehended the whole of the fine country on both sides of the Ohio. But, in order to adjust all disputes, the state of Virginia offered to concede the country westward of the Ohio,

D

pro-

provided that other individual states, holding back lands, would give up theirs, and the whole of the country comprehended within the present limits of the state, on the eastern side of the river Ohio, should be guaranteed to them by Congress. This was done; and thus the federal government became possessor of all the back lands in America.

Thus stood matters respecting Kentucky to the latter end of 1783. As it is necessary for me to take a retrospective glance of the progress of peopling several other parts of the western country I must beg your indulgence and time for another letter. In the mean time, believe me to be devoted to your wishes..

I am, most sincerely,

Your's, &c.

## LETTER II.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE memorable defeat of General Braddock retarded for some little time, our opportunities of acquiring a further knowledge of the country on the sources of the Ohio. But the taking Fort du Quesne by General Forbes, in 1758, opened to the view of the colonies of that day a new world. Lands were granted by government to the army, for services done during the war, which, in a great measure, with the garrisoning Fort du Quesne (now called Fort Pitt), contributed to form the first English settlement upon the western waters.

After the treaty of Paris in 1763, by which Great Britain obtained a cession of East and West Florida, and all the country lying east of the Mississippi, with a right to navigate that river, frequent incursions had been made from that time down to the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. But in these excursions, which were by water, very little knowledge of the Kentucky country had been obtained, except



at the Rapids and some few other places upon the banks of the river.

Louisiana was well known, and many settlements were forming, previous to the late war, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, above and below the Natchez : some troops had been stationed in the Illinois, and at Post St. Vincent on the Wabash river, where the French inhabitants lived and cultivated their little plantations, in the style of the Patriarchs of old ; enjoying the charms of nature, decked in all the soft simplicity which the genial current of the human soul, unsophisticated by the alloy of European artifice, produces in such elegant and fascinating variety. They possessed all the social talents in an eminent degree : and their hospitality was ever enlivened with the charms of wit, and the exhilarating juice of the vine ; which grew and flourished to such a degree as to produce wine for exportation. These settlements still exist ; but the settlements upon the Mississippi that were made previous to the war, were broken up by Indians, who inhabit the country between Georgia and West Florida, called the Cherokee, Creeks, Chactaw, and Chichasaws nations. Besides, by the treaty of 1783 between Great Britain and the United States, we acquired, the country on the eastern side of the Mississippi river, only as low as the commencement of the 32 deg. or to the Natchez ; so that those settle-



settlements could not be renewed by the Americans, as both East and West Florida fell into the hands of Spain by the same peace.

The southern limits of Virginia, being lat.  $36\frac{1}{2}$  deg. are divided from North Carolina by a line of demarkation in a direct west line, until it strikes the Mississippi a little below its junction with the Ohio. The same ridge of mountains which separates Virginia from the western country; separates the Carolinas also; and on this side of the mountain, within the limits of North-Carolina, the luxuriance of the soil; in some parts, is equally astonishing as that of Kentucky. When Lord Cornwallis penetrated into the back parts of that state, many of its inhabitants began to fly over the mountains for security; and thus commenced the settlement called Cumberland from the name of its river, which is a considerable branch of the Ohio, and joins it not a great way from its mouth. This settlement began to form in 1780, and was encouraged by the same means as the settlement of Kentucky, *i. e.* by settlements and pre-emption rights; and now promises to become second in magnitude to Kentucky, of all the settlements upon the western waters, and in a few years, from its rapid growth, doubtless will become a distinct state. Such is the rapidity with which this part of the world is peopling.

There are settlements still to the southward of this, in what is called the Great Bend of the Tenessee, or the Muscle Shoals, which have been made without the permission of the federal Government. This is a fine tract of country, and in time must become very valuable from its particular situation, and the peculiar manner in which the navigation of this country must be conducted, concerning which I shall expatiate in its proper place. Its proximity to the southern Indians renders it rather dangerous at present; but the growing strength of Frenchbroad and Nolachusky above, upon the waters of the same rivers will soon afford security to every part of the Tenessee country.

The country of Holston is still above these settlements upon the head waters of the same river, on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina; and that you may form some idea of the prowess of those people, I will relate a circumstance, which, perhaps, is not generally known on your side of the water. When Lord Cornwallis had advanced, in 1780, into the back parts of North Carolina, he detached Col. Ferguson with about 500 British troops, to a place called King's Mountain, in order to give security to the *faithful* and *loyal* subjects of his Majesty, who were considerably oppressed by their *unfaithful* countrymen the *rebels*. Col. Campbell, a Virginian, who lived in those back settlements, hearing of the rendezvous of the  
the

the loyalists, under the banner of Col. Ferguson's detachment, at King's Mountain, assembled what militia he could, and began his march on horseback in the evening, without mentioning their destination, and by continuing their march, without intercession for upwards of one hundred miles, came up with them the second morning, about the break of day, when their horses were left at the foot of the mountain with a small guard; his little army, divided into three detachments, were led to separate attacks, and in less than half an hour the hill was carried, Col. Ferguson killed, and the greater part of his detachment made prisoners. Col. Campbell's army amounted to about 500: he took more prisoners. From such specimens, I think those people can have nothing to fear from M'Gilvery.

I have not related this story from vanity, or from the most distant idea that the Americans are in any respect superior to Englishmen; so far from it, that no man can more warmly admire the true English than I do: but I have told it as a circumstance tending to prove, that men feeling the spirit of liberty are always superior to slaves; and that a well regulated militia are equal to the defence of a country without the expence of supporting a standing army, which is not the only inconvenience flowing from such a system. How much of the labour and ingenuity of a state is sacrificed

sacrificed by such a policy ! In how many instances have the laws and civil authority been trampled upon by the contumely and ignorance of men educated with none but military ideas and habits, and thereby the respect due to laws contaminated, and an indignant people awed by a martial phalanx ! While a good citizen feels his own insignificance, the patriotic heart mourns for the sacrilege committed upon their privileges with that impunity, which the patronage of a standing army affords to the executive power of a state.

We will now return to Kentucky which is the key-stone of the settlements upon the waters of the Mississippi. The years 1783 and 1784 brought out vast numbers of emigrants from all parts of America; particularly the latter year, when it was supposed that in Kentucky alone, not less than 12,000 souls became settlers : several Europeans from France, England and Ireland were among the number. The Indians gave us a respite, and there seemed to be nothing wanting to make us the happiest people upon earth.

In 1782 the State of Virginia had given us a General Court, with Judges and an Attorney-General, to manage all legal affairs respecting the district without the trouble and expence of travelling to Richmond, which is distant between five and six hundred miles, two hundred of which were through an uninhabited

habited wilderness. In 1783, 1784, and 1785, great part of the country was surveyed and patented, and the people in the interior settlements pursued their business in as much quiet and safety as they could have done in any part of Europe. Court-houses were built in the different counties, and roads were opened for carriages, which seven years before had not been seen in the country. The only roads hitherto were for single horses.

In 1785 the district had grown so considerable from the great number of emigrants which had arrived, and that respectability which it had acquired produced a disposition in the inhabitants to become an independent State, and to be admitted as another link in the great federal chain. A convention was immediately formed by sending deputies from the different counties, who met at our metropolis, Danville, for the purpose of taking the matter into consideration; when it was determined, after some debating, to petition Virginia for that purpose. An Act had already passed that State, authorising any district of country over the mountains to separate whenever a majority of the inhabitants should wish it: but in this instance it was urged, by those who were not friendly to the separation, that it was not the wish of the majority of the inhabitants of Kentucky to become independent. In fact, many Gentlemen holding considerable  
tracts



tracts of land in the district, who were not residents, thought our separation would be premature, particularly as we had courts of justice, whose jurisdiction was distinct from that of Virginia; and the only solid complaint (which, indeed, was a serious one) was the distance to which we must send our representatives, and our local situation requiring in some instances a legislation, which the majority of the Assembly of the State would not be competent to judge of. However, this business was procrastinated; for finding, though we might separate whenever we chose, yet that it was optional with the legislature of Virginia to recommend us to be taken into the federal government (which they were not likely to do, and which it was certain could not be done without,) we were content to remain as we were for that time.

The federal government in the course of this year undertook to lay off the country west of the Ohio, in such manner as would answer the purpose of selling the land, and settling the country. Peace had been made the preceding year at Fort M'Intosh, between the United States and the Indians, in which the country upon the Muskingum, Scioto, and the Great and Little Miami rivers, had been given up by the Indians as a consideration for former massacres, and as necessary to produce permanent tranquillity; they finding the United States,



States, by cession from Great Britain, had a right to all the country within the limits described in the treaty of 1783, and that it would be in vain for them to remonstrate against their peopling it, particularly as it was to Great Britain they were to look to for restitution, who had abandoned them when allies, and sold their country without even consulting them. But when the surveyors began to act, the Indians discovered immediate and hostile signs of disapprobation, some massacres were committed, and the business was put off until the following Spring.

Congress as yet had taken no decided measures as to the organization of this country, or the mode of parcelling it out and disposing of it; the discontinuance of the late war was still recent, and the multifarious objects which presented themselves to an infant Government, not recovered from the shocks of a doubtful credit, together with the habitual idleness which the profession of arms produces, threw an embarrassment over all their proceedings. It was in this dilemma that they recommended the meeting of a convention, to be composed of deputies from the different States, to assemble in Philadelphia in May, 1787, to take into their consideration the nature and defects of the federal government as it then existed. In this examination they found that the old government wanted efficiency, and the total  
absence

absence of unison between the different States, from local laws and customs, was productive of delay, and a variety of obstructions, tending to counteract the concord of confederation.

It was under these considerations that the present federal government arose. It has established one great and important principle for the benefit of mankind, and the extension of civilization, which is, that a power may exist in a government, as to admit of alteration or change, without danger to the tranquillity of the State; by government recommending to the constituent powers of that State, the deputing men to inquire into the radical defects of their constitution, and making such alterations as the improved wisdom of experience may find necessary. It is thus in the progression of things that governments will arrive at perfection.

I must beg that you will excuse this digression, as it was necessary to account for the delay in proceeding to the settlement of the country west of the Ohio. This business took up the greater part of 1787, so that it was a year or more before much was done. In the mean time the Indians continued to increase their depredations, under a belief that, if once the Whites were suffered to establish themselves on their side of the Ohio, there would be no end to their incroachments until they became

became extirpated. In this opinion, they were not a little encouraged by the English traders at Detroit and Niagara, who, from an avarice in human nature hard to be accounted for (but as it degenerates under bad laws and worse morals), seek, in murder and bloodshed, for the sale of a few extra pounds of gun-powder and lead. However some land had been surveyed in 1786 and 1787, and in the latter year a settlement was formed upon the Muskingum, which may be looked upon as the commencement of the American settlements upon the western side of the Ohio. In 1788 and 1789 some farther surveying was done; but little since has been transacted in those parts, except wars between the Indians and the settlers. Yet it is to be hoped that the decided measures taken by the United States will secure peace, which cannot fail to promote prosperity.

Nature in her pride has given to the regions of this fair river a fertility so astonishing, that to believe it, ocular demonstration becomes necessary. During these times of barbarous war and massacre, the people of Kentucky and Cumberland, secured by their numbers and strength, except in their utermost plantations, enjoyed perfect security. The former continued to keep in view the object of her independence, and from the respectable figure she has made in the administration of her affairs,

it is at length agreed, that she is to be admitted into the federal union in June 1792.

Having furnished you with only an imperfect history of the manner in which this back country has been settled, I will endeavour, in compliance with your request, to give you a description of its natural and artificial productions. Believe me to be, sincerely,

Your's, &c.

L E T.

## L E T T E R III.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

**I**N casting your eyes over the map of America, you will discover that its western (or middle) country is divided from the Atlantic country by a chain of mountains which rise in the remote parts of the States of New-York, and New-Jersey, and run a south-westerly course, until they are lost (as I observed before) in the flat lands of West Florida. The western country is those parts which are watered by the streams running into the Mississippi.

It is about fifty miles over the Allegany Mountain, crossing by the rout which General Braddock took from Fort Cumberland near the Potowmac, at the descent into the country of Redstone on the Monongehala, the southern branch of the Ohio. This river rises in the same mountain considerably to the southward, runs nearly parallel with it, the opposite way, upwards of one hundred miles, and is navigable for boats nearly to its source; the whole of this country beyond the moun-



tain is extremely fertile, well watered, and abounding with all kinds of timber calculated for building houses, boats, cabinet work, &c. &c. The sugar maple-tree is intermixed in great quantities. From the foot of the mountain it is about fourteen miles to Redstone Old Fort, which is on the banks of the Monongahala, and the usual place of embarkation of people coming down the Ohio, who travel Braddock's road; from thence to Pittsburg is about fifty miles by water. Large tracts of flat land lay all along upon the banks of this river from the Old Fort to Pittsburg, which are capable of being made into extensive and luxuriant meadow ground.

This country is populous, it being the oldest settlement, and made immediately after taking Fort du Quesne. The Yohogania empties itself into the Monongahala about twenty-five miles above its junction with the Allegany river: the country on this river is more uneven, but in the vallies the soil is extremely rich. Near to Pittsburg the country is well peopled, and there, as well as in Redstone, all the comforts of life are in the greatest abundance. Flour is manufactured in as good a style as in any part of America; and butter, cheese, bacon, and every kind of provisions can be had in the greatest quantity. This whole country abounds in coal, which lies almost upon the surface of the ground; the hills  
opposite



opposite Pittsburg upon the banks of the Monongahala, which are at least three hundred feet high, appear to be one solid body of this mineral.

This must become in time the most valuable grazing country in all America from the fertility of its soil, its capability of being formed into extensive meadows, and its proximity to the mountains which attract the clouds, and produce that moisture so necessary to grass;—besides which, its situation is about three hundred miles from Philadelphia, about two hundred and forty from Baltimore, and about two hundred and twenty from the federal city on the Potowmac, a distance which is too great to carry by land the bulky articles of husbandry; but to which cattle may be driven with the greatest ease.

This country has derived no inconsiderable advantage from the settlement of Kentucky, and the other settlements which are making on the Ohio and Mississippi, the great road of migrating from the northern states lying through it: and indeed it is most convenient, both from Maryland and Virginia, at all seasons of the year, provided that there be any thing bulky to carry, the passage being for the greatest part, by water, and the Potowmac navigable, a few places excepted, to fort Cumberland: all of which obstructions will be removed in a few years by canals which are

cutting. From Fort Cumberland it is about sixty miles land carriage to Redstone Old Fort; but so friendly has nature been to this country, that though it is without seas, yet the rivers run in such directions, that there is scarce any place in all the back parts of America, where art may not reduce the land carriage to a very small distance. I cannot speak upon so general a subject definitively, but I mean to be understood within fifteen leagues. It is asserted from the best authorities, that the land carriage between the Potowmac and Ohio may be reduced to less than twenty miles.

Such is the progression of things in this country, that while there was apparently no market for its superfluous productions, every article has sold extremely well, in consequence of the number of emigrants who have been continually passing down the Ohio.

Down from Pittsburg the country is flat on the banks of the river; but a little distance from them it is considerably broken, particularly on the north-western side. Much good land, however, is interspersed on the south side as far as the approach to the little Kanaway, where the nature of the soil seems reversed, and the good land is then found on the western side upon the Muskingum. There are some strips of rich land upon the little Kanaway; but, farther up the river, the country is broken and steril, producing scarce any other

ther timber than the fir-tree, or pine and knotty black oaks, which are generally deemed symptoms of a bad soil. This tract of bad land extends quite into the mountains in a south direction, and runs south-westerly as far as Great Sandy river, with little or no variation, except on the bottoms of the Great Kanaway, which are extensive and rich. The bottoms on the Ohio are every where extensive and luxuriant. On the western side of the river, the country beyond the rich vein of land on the Muskingum, is only tolerable on this side of the head waters of the Sciota, which are succeeded by as fine a body of land as the imagination can paint. This extends considerably near to the Ohio, and running westward quite to the Miami, now approximates its banks, and displays, in its verdure and variety of majestic forests, all that beauty and richness, which have been so much celebrated by travellers who have passed through them. The country on the eastern side, except on the banks of the rivers, is indifferent. There is a body of good land on Great Sandy; but leaving that in a south-westerly course, high, rugged, and broken hills arise, which will hardly ever be capable of cultivation: these hills extended between thirty and forty miles and open into the fine lands of Kentucky.

We have travelled now about five hundred miles down the Ohio in its meandering course,  
and

and we will suppose ourselves at Limestone, where the champaigne country on the eastern side of the river begins. This is the usual landing place for people coming down in boats, who mean to settle in the upper part of the State, as I shall in future call it. It is now necessary to look back to that country, which we have travelled through with such rapidity. Pittsburg lies in about lat.  $40^{\circ} 40'$ , the general course of the Ohio is about W. S. W. and the distance by land from Pittsburg to Limestone is nearly three hundred miles. But as the northern limits of the state, are Great Sandy, which is some distance above Limestone, we may fix them as nearly as can be, in lat.  $39^{\circ} 30'$ . I am sorry I cannot speak with more precision, but these things have not yet been ascertained from observation.

The east side of the Ohio for about ten or twenty miles below Whealing, which is about one hundred below Pittsburg, is generally well settled. There are few settlements on the opposite shore until you come to the Muskingum, and the country now wears the face of a wilderness on both sides of the river, there being no habitations worth notice, except at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, until we arrive at Limestone.

Every thing here assumes a dignity and splendour I have never seen in any other part of the world. You ascend a considerable distance

tance from the shore of the Ohio, and when you would suppose you had arrived at the summit of a mountain, you find yourself upon an extensive level. Here an eternal verdure reigns, and the brilliant sun of lat. 39°, piercing through the azure heavens, produces, in this prolific soil, an early maturity which is truly astonishing. Flowers full and perfect, as if they had been cultivated by the hand of a florist, with all their captivating odours, and with all the variegated charms which colour and nature can produce, here, in the lap of elegance and beauty, decorate the smiling groves. Soft zepthers gently breathe on sweets, and the inhaled air gives a voluptuous glow of health and vigour, that seems to ravish the intoxicated senses. The sweet songsters of the forests appear to feel the influence of this genial climate, and, in more soft and modulated tones, warble their tender notes in unison with love and nature. Every thing here gives delight; and, in that mild effulgence which beams around us, we feel a glow of gratitude for the elevation which our all-bountiful Creator has bestowed upon us. Far from being disgusted with man for his turpitude or depravity, we feel that dignity which nature bestowed upon us at the creation; but which has been contaminated by the base alloy of meanness, the concomitant of European education, and what is more lamentable is, that



that it is the consequence of your very law and governments.

You must forgive what I know you will call a rhapsody, but what I really experienced after travelling across the Allegany mountain in March, when it was covered with snow, and after finding the country about Pittsburg bare and not recovered from the ravages of winter, there was scarcely a blade of grass to be seen every thing looked dreary, and bore those marks of melancholy which the rude hand of frost produces. I embarked immediately for Kentucky, and in less than five days landed at Limestone, where I found nature robed in all her charms.

It naturally struck me that there was something in climate that debased or elevated the human soul. That chill penury which a sterile country and damp cold climate produces in accumulating the wants of men, had increased their dependance, which at once saps the first principles of man. I conceived that in the infancy of the world men in temperate climates had retained their freedom longest. Thus in England you have enjoyed a considerable share of liberty, while almost all Europe have suffered under the fetters of an odious despotism. The perfection of arts will meliorate the condition of man in every part of the world; but the amelioration of government



and education must take place, before he will be able to resume his pristine dignity.

From Limestone to Licking creek the country is immensely rich, and covered with cane, eye-grass, and the native clover. The cane is a reed which grows to the height frequently of fifteen or sixteen feet, but more generally about ten or twelve feet, and is in thickness from the side of a goose quill, to that of two inches diameter; sometimes, yet seldom, it is larger. When it is slender, it never grows higher than from four to seven feet; it shoots up in one summer, but produces no leaves until the following year. It is an ever-green, and is, perhaps, the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavour and richness as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horses which feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them once in three or four days a handful of salt, otherwise this food is liable to heat, and bind their bowels. The eye-grass, when it arrives to maturity, is from two feet and a half high to three and a half, and the head and beard resembles the real rye, and sometimes produces a small grain long and slender not unlike rye. Whether cultivation would bring it to the same perfection, I can form no idea; it is however certain, that it is a very good and valuable grass. The clover

is

is in no respect different from the clover in Europe, but as it is more coarse and luxuriant. There is a variety of other kinds of grass, which are found in different places; but I have only mentioned the two former, they being esteemed the most valuable.

In order to travel into the interior parts of the State the rout lies across the branches of Licking creek. There are several of them which take their rise in the high hills of Great Sandy rivers, and the spurs of the Allegany mountain; they traverse a most delightful country, and form a junction a small distance below the Lower Blue Lick. A salt spring is called a Lick, from the earth about them being furrowed out, in a most curious manner, by the buffaloe and deer, which lick the earth on account of the saline particles with which it is impregnated. The country from the Fork to the Ohio is considerably broken, but generally rich, and continues uneven, except on the banks of the river, quite to the mouth of Kentucky, which is about one hundred and ten miles below the mouth of Licking creek by water, and seventy above the Rapids of the Ohio. Between the mouths of Licking and Kentucky lies the Great Bone Lick, which is justly celebrated for the remarkable bones which are found there, and which gave name to the place. Several of those bones have been sent to Europe; but I believe no natural  
historian

historian has been able to give any decided opinion to what class of animals they belonged. Buffon has called them the Mammouth ; but I am at a loss to know from what authority, as we have no tradition either oral or written, that gives an account of any species of animals which were as large as those must have been, judging by the magnitude of the bones. Buffon says, that similar bones have been found both in Ireland (if I am not mistaken) and in some part of Asia. It appears somewhat extraordinary, at the first view, that we should discover manifest proofs of there having existed animals of which we can form no adequate idea, and which in size must have far exceeded any thing now known upon earth ; and those signs too, in climates where the elephant (the largest animal now in existence) is never found. Every phænomenon upon the earth tends to confirm the idea, that it ever has been subject to revolutions, besides its diurnal and annual motion from east to west.

After passing the Blue Lick, the soil, if possible, increases in richness. From thence to Danville is about fifty miles. Lexington lies about mid-way, and is nearly central of the finest and most luxuriant country, perhaps, on earth. From Lexington to Leesburg is about twenty miles ; to Boonsbury it is about twenty ; the Upper Blue Lick nearly thirty. This square which is nearly fifty miles, com-  
 F prehends

prehends entirely what is called first rate land. Leesburg lies on the Kentucky, about twenty miles from its mouth by land, and nearly forty by water. The country between that and the Ohio is broken, but rich, though it is not deemed a valuable body of land. The Kentucky is bound every where by high rocky precipices, which are generally two hundred feet and upwards perpendicular, and which makes its passes difficult. Few places on it have any bottom land, as the rock rises mostly contiguous to the bed of the river; which confinement, after heavy rains, renders it very formidable from the impetuosity of its current. On ascending the banks of this river, the land on either side is equally good for a considerable distance above Boonsburg; but adjacent to the mountains from whence the river rises, the country becomes broken, steril, and of little or no value. Boonsburg lies on the Kentucky, about sixty miles above its mouth by land, and about one hundred and thirty by water. From Leesburg down the river on the south side, for about ten or twelve miles, the hills are considerably high and steep; but when you pass the waters of Drinnon's Lick creek, you fall into a body of good champaign land, which extends with little variation to the Rapids of the Ohio. From Leesburg to Danville, the country for the first twenty miles, is of an inferior rate of land for this country; but farther

her on, you get into the rich country I have mentioned, comprehended within the square of fifty miles.

Large bodies of good land lie on every side of Danville for twenty miles and upwards; but in the course from thence to the Rapids of the Ohio, on the waters of Salt river (which takes its name from a salt spring, called Bul-  
lit's Lick, that is on its banks, about twenty miles from the mouth of the river) the country is, in some places, broken into ridges of hills, which are in general good land, but not well watered. As you approach the Rapids the country becomes more level, better watered, and the soil more fertile. The country of Beargrafs is beautiful and rich; as indeed, is the land on Goose and Harrod's creeks. In the fork of the Ohio, and Salt river, which form a junction about twenty miles below the Rapids, the country is flat, and interspersed with small lakes or ponds, occasioned by the extreme lowness of the banks of the Ohio in this fork, which, when flooded, overflows the country, and the water fills these ponds periodically, or as often as those inundations happen, which are frequent from December until April.

The Rapids of the Ohio, lie about seven hundred miles below Pittsburg, and about four hundred above its confluence with the Mississippi. They are occasioned by a ledge of



rocks which stretch across the bed of the river from one side to the other, in some places projecting so much, that they are visible when the water is not high, and in most places when the river is extremely low. The fall is not more than between four and five feet in the distance of a mile ; so that boats of any burthen may pass with safety when there is a flood ; but boats coming up the river must unload ; which inconvenience may very easily be removed by cutting a canal from the mouth of Beargrass, the upper side of the Rapids, to below the lower reef of rocks, which is not quite two miles, and the country a gentle declivity the whole way.

The situation of the Rapids is truly delightful. The river is full a mile wide, and the fall of water, which is an eternal cascade, appears as if nature had designed it to shew how inimitable and stupendous are her works. Its breadth contributes to its sublimity ; and the continually rumbling noise tends to exhilarate the spirits, and gives a cheerfulness even to sluggards. The view up the river is terminated, at the distance of four leagues, by an island in its centre, which is contrasted by the plain on the opposite shore, that extends a long way into the country ; but the eye receding, finds new beauties, and ample subject for admiration, in the rising hills of Silver creek, which, stretching obliquely to the north-west, proudly

rise



rise higher and higher as they extend, until their summits are lost in air. Clarkville on the opposite shore completes the prospect, and from its neighbourhood, and from the settlement forming upon the Officers land, a few years must afford us a cultivated country, to blend appropriate beauty with the charms of the imagination. There lies a small island in the river about two hundred yards from the eastern shore; between which and the main is a quarry of excellent stone for building, and which in great part is dry the latter part of summer. The banks of the river are never overflowed here, they being fifty feet higher than the bed of the river. There is no doubt but it will soon become a flourishing town: there are already upwards of two hundred good houses built. This town is called Louisville.

I omitted to mention, that when the State of Virginia conceded the country west of the Ohio to the United States, she reserved a tract of country lying, opposite to the Rapids, for those officers and soldiers which were called State troops; and who had been immediately employed in the western country.

Having left the country on the western side of the Ohio at the Miami, I shall continue my description of the country on this side, as far as my knowledge extends, and will then proceed upwards.

In leaving the Rapids in a south-westerly direction the country is flat, it bordering upon the country I have described in the fork of the Ohio and Salt rivers. After passing the main branch of the Salt river near Bullit's Lick, ten miles distant, in the fork of the north and south branches, the country becomes broken and hilly ; but between which and the Cumberland road, that leads from the upper parts of Kentucky, there is a considerable extent of fine land ; but travelling a few leagues farther southward, you arrive at extensive plains, which extends upwards of one hundred and fifty miles in a south-west course, and end only when they join the mountainous country. Some few clumps of trees, and a grove here and there, are the only obstructions to a boundless horizon. It is pleasant to behold the deer bounding over the scraggy shrubs which cover the earth. While the setting sun gilds those extensive plains, the mild breezes of a summer's eve, playing upon the enraptured senses, softens the heart to love and friendship. Unperceived, upon some eminence, you may enjoy the sports of wild animals, which here rove unconcerned lords of the field. Heavens ! what charms are there in liberty ! Man, born to enslave the subordinate animals, has long since enslaved himself. But reason at length in radiant smiles, and with graceful pride, illumines both hemispheres ;

and

and the bright Goddess in golden plumes, and in her triumphal car, must now resume her long lost empire.

We now have arrived upon the waters of Green river: at the mouth of which, and between that and the Ohio, lies Henderson's grant of twelve miles square, as I mentioned. The plains extend beyond the head waters of this river quite into the limits of North Carolina; but at the mouth, and for forty miles above, there is a large proportion of good land, particularly upon Panther creek. From the mouth of Green River up the Ohio to Salt river, the land upon the banks of the Ohio is generally fertile and rich; but leaving its banks you soon fall into the plain country, which is considered as little better than barren land. However, it is most likely that they will prove excellent for sheep to feed upon, the climate being nearly the same as that of Spain, where the finest wool in Europe is produced. And though the land is not reckoned valuable in this country, on account of its comparative sterility, yet it is of a superior quality to great parts of the soil in the lower parts of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. It abounds with hazel, which, it is well known, never grows kindly in a poor soil.

The native strawberry is found in these plains in the greatest abundance, as are likewise plumbs of different sorts; and, if we can form  
any

any idea of the native grape that grows spontaneously here, what the same soil is capable of producing when they are cultivated, it would appear that no climate or soil in the world is more congenial to the vine; for I have never tasted more delicious grapes, and it is the opinion of some judicious foreigners, who have visited these Arcadian regions, that as good wine as can be made in any part of the globe, might be produced from the native grape properly cultivated. There is nothing more common than to meet with a pleasant wine made here by the settlers, who know nothing of the use of vats, or the degree of fermentation necessary to the perfection of the art of wine making. But, I flatter myself some progress will be made in this business, as several foreigners have long had it in agitation to undertake it.

The country between Green and Cumberland rivers is in general rich, and finely watered. There is in it a most valuable lead mine, and several salt springs, and two of a bitumen, which, when analyzed, is found to be amber. But, so much do we stand in need of chymists, and mineralists, that we remain ignorant of the properties and value of many fossils which have been discovered; and many continue unknown, I apprehend, from the want of curiosity of men whose only object seems to be cultivation and the science of government. Perhaps these are the most essential to the happiness of

men

men in the wild state which this country is in. Arts appear to follow population. Necessity has been the mother of invention, it is true ; but from the attainment of that perfection to which we have arrived in arts and philosophy, wisdom and science must go forward. It is physically impossible for man to degenerate to barbarism.

When the greatest merit consists in the exercise of the most useful and appropriate talents, I think that it is likely that the ingenuity of men will feel a more lively stimulus to the exercise of invention from the love of fame, the love of mankind, and regard to their own dignity, than it ever yet experienced from necessity. While odious distinctions exist, and men are rewarded in proportion to their servility, human nature must be robbed of half its manliness, and consequently men will be slothful. How many drones do we observe in every part of Europe, who feed upon the industry of the necessitous, who work only as it is necessary to their existence ! Such have been the effects of the factitious duties of man in your hemisphere, that every thing has become perverted ; and governments, instead of securing happiness to men, have only tended to aggrandize individuals, and thus has flowed in that debasement of character which has marked half the inhabitants of Europe with little more dignity than brute creatures.



Cumberland river rises among the mountains, considerably to the north-east, and, after its several branches have joined it, runs a long way south, and enters the limits of North Carolina. After a course of half a degree within those limits, it turns to the north-west, and empties itself into the Ohio, at some distance above its junction with the Mississippi. The Tennessee runs into the Ohio, not a long way below the mouth of Cumberland.—— The Tennessee is the most important of the southern branches of the Ohio. Its northern fork, called Holston, rises in the country of the same name (which I have before mentioned), and after passing through Nolachucky, is joined by the main or south branch. This branch rises in the remote parts of the state of Georgia, and, after traversing the borders of the Cherokee country, is joined by the Holston branch when it is called the Tennessee: from thence it runs south-westerly, quite thro' the limits of North Carolina, and approaches the head waters of the Mobile, which empties itself into the gulph of Mexico. In its course, which is very rapid thus far, from the material declivity of the high country, which from mountains gradually sink into a flat, there is a number of falls, but none of them considerable. It now turns again to the northward, and from its lazy motion it is obvious that there is very little fall of water from this to the Ohio.



bio. This turn constitutes what is called the Great Bend of the Tenessee, or Muscle Shoal, from the number of shoals in this part of the river, which are covered with these shell-fish. The river is here from two to three and a half miles wide. Its importance will consist in its being the most convenient inlet from the upper parts of Virginia and the Carolinas to the Mississippi, it being navigable for boats of forty tons burthen from Holston, the falls excepted, where carrying places will answer until there are canals made, which can be done with very little expence.

Holston is a narrow strip of country surrounded on every side by mountains; but there is a passage which winds through them, so as to admit of a passage this way, and down the river, without any difficulty of bad roads whatever. Should you continue your route by land in the road to Kentucky (which I shall describe in another place), you would have several mountains to pass, and at least two hundred miles of bad road.

After you leave the plains which extend into the Cumberland country, in your course to the Tenessee, the country is somewhat broken, but mostly rich. Great part of the land lying between these rivers and the Ohio, and between Cumberland and Green rivers, was in military grants, made by Virginia to their officers and soldiers, and is esteemed a valuable situation

situation for its proximity to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi. Their grants extend as low on the Mississippi as the partition line between Virginia and North Carolina: all of which is a beautiful country: and the banks of the river, which are very high, prevents it from overflowing, which is not the case a great way lower down.

The land in the great bend of the Tenasee is very fine; but when you approach the country of the Chickasaws, it becomes broken, light, and sandy: and, as you extend to the southward, I have been informed (I never travelled farther than this by land) the soil grows still lighter, and except a large body of good land on the Mississippi and the bottoms of the several streams which run into the Gulph and the Mississippi, it is little better than West Florida; which has been celebrated in Europe for its fertility.; but so fine a country have I been endeavouring to describe to you, that, judging by comparison, the people in Kentucky and Cumberland look upon that as an indifferent soil.

This letter has imperceptibly grown to a considerable length. I was anxious to comprehend within this sketch, all the country denominated the western country on both sides of the Ohio to the Miami, and then the whole of the Kentucky and Cumberland countries and the country upon the Tenasee, in order  
tha

that I might proceed up the Ohio on the western side, comprehending the whole of the country between that and the Mississippi, back to the Miami, and continuing northward to the lakes: afterwards to shew the probable rise and grandeur of the American empire, before I proceeded to an account of the artificial productions, &c. of Kentucky and Cumberland. Farewell.

Believe, my Friend,  
I am yours sincerely.

## LETTER IV.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

**I**N contemplating the vast field of the American empire, what a stupenduous subject does it afford for speculation! government, ethics, and commerce, acting upon principles different in many respects from those of the old world, and entirely in others! A government which, with its spreading branches, seems in its mighty grasp to promise liberty and protection to one hemisphere! A government which, from its simple construction, and the unity and efficiency of its action, is no less remarkable in the political, than its natural history is to the physical world!

In ten years more, perhaps, a settlement will be formed sufficiently populous, to become a federal state in the country into which I am now going to advance; the limits of which from the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio to Detroit, is between five and six hundred miles; and taking the medium distance between Pittsburg and the mouth of the Ohio across to the Mississippi from the Ohio is very little.

little less. The inhabitants of which immense district do not, including French, amount to five thousand. The country in this fork (if I may so call it) is various. Great part of it has been described by Charlevoix, Hutchins, and Carver. Charlevoix seems to have gone rapidly from Detroit by water the greatest part of the way to New Orleans. Hutchins to have done nearly the same from Pittsburg down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and up that river to the Illinois; so up that, and from thence to Detroit. He has given a tolerable good account of the Illinois country. Carver confined his travels and remarks to the lakes, the upper part of the Mississippi, particularly the river St. Pierre, and the north-western branch of that river, and to the customs and manners of the Indian nations. These authors have all considerable merit. They have written so agreeably, that their books have been generally read; which has tended to disseminate a knowledge of this country in a savage state. This part of it is little better; but you must view it as a creation bursting from a chaos of heterogeneous matter, and exhibiting the shining tissue with which it abounds.

Immediately in the fork the land is flat and able to overflow; but as you advance on either river the banks rise, and the country expanding, displays a luxuriant soil for a long distance above the Wabash on the Ohio side,



and quite to the Illinois on the Mississippi side, which is about two hundred and thirty miles above its junction with the Ohio, and twenty above the mouth of Missouri. This country lies nearly in the same parallel of latitude of Kentucky. From the mouth of the Wabash the bottoms on the Ohio are extensive and extremely fertile, as is the country from thence to Post St. Vincent; but towards the rapids of the Ohio, and beyond the bottoms of this river, the country is considerably broken, and the soil in some places light and indifferent. After leaving Post St. Vincent, in the route to the Illinois country, you soon fall into those extensive plains which have been described in such glowing colours by Hutchins. This is certainly a beautiful country, and the immense number of deer, elk, and buffalo, which are seen grazing in those natural meadows, renders even wildness enchanting. The air in this climate is pure, and the almost continual unclouded sky tends not a little to charm the senses. The country between Post St. Vincent and Kaskaskias is flat and plain, with little variation. As you ascend the Illinois river the soil grows more fertile, and on either side you find immense forests.

I must now beg you will travel with Hutchins from hence to Detroit. He will conduct you up the head branches of this river, and after



after a short passage, you will embark again on the waters of lake Erie; discovering how the operations of this great country will be facilitated by the peculiar courses of its immense and numerous rivers. His observations I have been told are considerably accurate, and as I have not had the advantage of travelling this route, I recommend you to read his book, which was originally published in England, and no doubt is still to be had.

Detroit lies between lat.  $42^{\circ}$  and  $43^{\circ}$  upon the lake Erie, considerably to the westward of Pittsburg. The country lying between them is not remarkable for any thing but being a wilderness. The soil and climate is such as would entitle it to the reputation of a fine country in any part of Europe, except in winter, when the frost is extremely severe, but less intense than that of Canada. Quebec lies nearly in the same latitude of Paris, and from the description which the Emperor Julian has given of the winters he quartered there, during his command in Gaul, there seems to be little difference between the winters of France at that period, in respect to cold, and the present winters of Canada. Perhaps the extent of continent lying to the north-west, and the immense lakes of fresh water which cover it, will not admit of the climate of that part of America being so rapidly meliorated as the climate of Europe has been by cultivation. How-

G. 3.

ever,

ever, it is certain, that as the country has been more opened in America, and thereby the rays of the sun have acted more powerfully upon the earth, these benefits have tended greatly already to soften the winter season: so that peopling Canada (for which we are much obliged to *you*) is a double advantage to *us*. First, it is settling and populating a country, which must, sooner or later, from the natural order of things, become part of our empire, and immediately meliorating the climate of the northern States. But, to return to Detroit. Our course from thence to the head waters of the *Miamis* is south-westerly. The country for some distance is flat, and the soil heavy and damp; but, upon the waters of those rivers, it is beautiful, and rich in the gifts of nature.

The communication between Lake Erie and the *Ohio* by water this way, will be up the southern branches of the lake, and by a short passage you arrive upon the waters of the great *Miami*, which is navigable when it is flooded. It must be observed that the rivers I have been mentioning are not navigable throughout the year, for boats of above ten or fifteen tons. Great part of the country between this and the *Wabash* is champaign; but in travelling towards the Rapids of the *Ohio* you pass considerable plains, and then fall into a broken and hilly tract of poor land, which continues with little variation until you approach

proach the Rapids, when all the variety and charms, which this river produces, present themselves again. From Detroit to the Rapids is nearly four hundred miles.

I have gone cursorily over the western country which is peopled and about to be peopled; but have purposely avoided taking any notice of those parts which are so little known, and of which I could say nothing but from the information of hunters and savages, which has been industriously collected and published by Carver, Jefferson, and others. Besides, as it is your wish only to be informed of the advantages of settlement, it would have been idle to have troubled you with accounts of countries which will not be settled, or at least formed into States, in our time.

The rapid population of the western country has not only astonished America itself, but it must amaze Europe, when they enter into the views and increase of this growing empire. The first settlement on the western waters by the English was in 1760, and, under the influence of almost continual Indian wars, that settlement (I am now speaking of the upper settlement on the Ohio) now contains not less than an hundred thousand souls. The State of Kentucky did not make a permanent settlement before 1780, which now contains not less than an hundred thousand. The Cumberland settlement began about this time, but it  
was

was at least three years afterwards before there was security given to that settlement, and there are settled about fifty thousand souls more. Besides the settlement in the great bend of the Tenasee, which will join them in their separation from North Carolina the settlement of Nola Chucky and French-broad, made on the branches of the Tenasee in the year 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785, contain between thirty and forty thousand souls; several other settlements are forming at the Iron Banks on the Mississippi, besides those upon the western side of the Ohio, which, including the inhabitants at Post St. Vincent and the Kaskaskies (I judge from the best information) do not fall short of fifty thousand. I have not mentioned the number in the settlement of the great bend of the Tenasee, as I have not been able to collect any satisfactory information respecting them; but I suppose the aggregate number of souls in the western country is very little, if at all short of four hundred thousand, including the settlements of Holston, Chinck river, and Powel's valley, which taken together may amount to seventy thousand souls, and which are properly on the western waters.

The settlements on the western side of the Ohio have been greatly harrassed and retarded by the Indian war; which has continued with little variation since 1785; but the vigorous measures which their depredations have obliged

ed Congress to adopt, must end with a permanent peace, or in a few years their provocations will lead to the extirpation of the whole of the Miami and Illinois tribes. Their prowess and determined resolution will, no doubt, considerably annoy our army, which, having been mostly recruited from the Atlantic country, are not acquainted with such dexterity and courage, or indeed habituated to their manner of fighting; but our numbers have grown too considerable; for, defeats only invigorate our measures, while the loss of every man, to nations whose populations is so extremely tardy as that of the savages of America, is a lamentable consideration.

In the peopling this country new States will naturally arise, and thus, in contemplating the continent of America, we may form an adequate idea of what will be the magnitude of its federal empire. The upper settlement on the Ohio, though more populous than the settlement of Cumberland, is not likely to become a separate State so soon. The greatest part of it is within the limits of Pennsylvania, and not so remote from the capital of that State, as the Cumberland settlement is from the capital of North Carolina. The intercourse is continual, and the productions of the country, or at least their cattle may be driven to Philadelphia, &c. as I have observed before; and their influence is not sufficient to procure them an act of separation;



ration, should they desire it. In the case of North Carolina and Cumberland there is little or no communication between them, nor is it to be expected that it ever can be the interest of either to continue the connection; therefore, it is most likely, that district will follow Kentucky in the links of the great federal chain.

I must now proceed upon conjecture, as there are no definite limits prescribed by the federal government for the lines of demarkation, which are to be the different boundaries or limits of new States which will arise. However it is easy, by consulting natural boundaries, to form a pretty just idea where will be their different divisions. I have already remarked that Kentucky and Cumberland are divided by a line in lat.  $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , which will be the boundary of Cumberland to the northward. The mountains will most likely be its eastern limits: its southern limits will be, either the partition line continued between North Carolina and Georgia (South Carolina never possessed any western land,) or it will run southerly, until it strikes that ridge of hills which divides the Tennessee country from the country of the Chactaws; thence a due west course to the Mississippi, or following some one of those branches which rise in those hills, and pursuing its course to that river. This will comprehend a district of country of nearly two hundred



hundred miles in length from east to west, and nearly an hundred and fifty from north to south. I cannot speak here with accuracy, as it is that part of all the western country which is least known.

The country upon the head waters of the Tenaſſee ſtands next in the liſt of advancement. This country includes the ſettlement of Holſton, the ſettlement of Clinch, and the ſettlements of Powel's Valley, which are part in Virginia and part in North Carolina; beſides the ſettlements of Nola Chucka and French-broad. This laſt ſettlement will be extended to the borders of the Cherokee country, which will bind this State to the ſouthward. Its western boundary will be Cumberland mountain, which will divide it from the States of Kentucky and Cumberland. Its northern limits will be the ridges of hills which divides the waters of the Tenaſſee and the Great Kanaway, and its eaſtern boundary will be the high hills which divides the eaſtern from the western waters in this part of America, which are called in Virginia the north mountains, and which continue their courſe through the Carolinas. This State will be in extent upwards of two hundred miles from north to ſouth, and the average width from eaſt to weſt, nearly an hundred and fifty.

This country has mountains on every ſide but the ſouth-weſt, and is interſperſed with  
high

high hills in most parts of it. The valleys are extremely fertile, and every where finely watered. The climate in the upper part of the country is not so temperate as that of Kentucky, though it lies in the same latitude, which is owing to the neighbouring mountains. Many parts of this district are well settled, and cultivation was brought to such considerable perfection, that the inhabitants had it in contemplation to become independent seven years since, under the distinction of the State of Franklin, which very probably you may have read of. Its population is not only considerable, but its respectability in every respect will very soon intitle it to the rank of a distinct State; though it may require some time to effect a unity of sentiments, and a consolidation of its various and detached settlements into that order which the organs of government require.

Before I leave this side of the Mississippi, I must beg leave to digress, and shew what will be the probable destination of the Indian nations, who live between the southern limits of the country I have been mentioning, and the Floridas, and which may amount to thirteen thousand, inclusive of men, women, and children. The Cherokees are about two thousand five hundred; the Creeks three thousand five hundred; the Chactaws, are about six thousand; and the different vagrant nations  
may

may amount to a thousand more. The settlements making in the upper parts of Georgia, upon the fine lands of the Oconee and Oke-mulgee rivers, will in a very few years bid defiance to them in that quarter. The Georgian troops have already defeated them, and forced them to be quiet — The settlement of French-broad, aided by Holston, have nothing to fear from them; and the Cumberland is too puissant to apprehend any danger. The Spaniards are in possession of the Floridas (how long they will remain so must depend upon their moderation and good manners), and the settlements at the Natchez and above, which will soon extend to the southern boundaries of Cumberland; so that they will be completely enveloped in a few years. Our people will continue to encroach upon them on three sides, which will compel them to live more domestic lives, and assimilate them to our mode of living, or cross to the western side of the Mississippi.

In the settlement of Long Island, in the State of New-York, some of the tribes of Indians remained, and lived in continual intercourse with the whites. Whether it was from any cruelty practised upon them, or from their predominant passion for ardent spirits, I will not pretend to say; but it is certain that very few of them remain, and they are a slothful, degenerate order of beings, compared with the al origines of that country. In the settlement of South Carolina the Catawbias were al-

lotted a tract of country, and though they have retained their courage, their numbers have greatly declined. The cause of civilization proving repugnant to their population, I think may be sufficiently accounted for in the white encouraging their thirst for intoxication.

I will next take notice of the Genesee country, which lies upon the waters that run in lake Ontario, and which it is expected will be peopled as soon as the Six Nations of Indians are peaceable. This is a very rich and fertile tract of country, lying in the remote parts of New York, bounded by Pennsylvania to the south-east, by the lakes to the north-west, and by high hills and a wilderness from the Ohio country. I have hitherto omitted taking notice of it, as not properly belonging to the western country; but as I am going to proceed to partition the country west of the Ohio into separate States, I thought it most consistent to keep up the chain of connection; and without mentioning this district, there would have been a chasm between New York and the uppermost State upon the waters of the Ohio.

I will now return to the Ohio. That ridge of hills which divides the waters of this river from that of the lakes, running south-westerly until they run north-westerly and divide the sources of the Wabash and Illinois rivers from the southern branches of the lake, will most likely mark the limits to the west of the Upper State upon the western side of the Ohio. The ridge of hills which divid

the waters<sup>2</sup> of the Allegany river from those of the Genesee, will bound it to the north; the Allegany river and the Ohio to the east, and the Muskingum to the south. The next state should form between the Muskingum and Scioto, the Ohio and that ridge of hills between the sources of these rivers and those of Lake Erie. The third, between the Scioto, the Great Miami, the Ohio, and the same ridge of hills. The country lying between the Miami, Wabash, the Ohio, and the same hills, would put into another State; and the country lying between the Wabash, Ohio, Mississippi, and Illinois rivers, I would establish to a fifth State.

Between the mouth of the Illinois river and waters of lake Michigan, lies a district of country equally fertile with any part of the western country; but, in the progression of our settlements, it will be some years before any settlements can be formed there, except in the fork of the Mississippi and Illinois; which may be erected into a State, by running a line from Anthony's falls, in such a direction as to strike the head branches of the Illinois. But it is most likely that the country on the Mississippi and Missouri will be settled before this district, though it is considered as the empire of Spain. However, I will not be so indecorous as to parcel out the territories of other nations:



nations : it is sufficiently presumptuous to have gone so far as I have.

I have now marked out the imaginary boundaries of six new States exclusive of those on the eastern side of the Ohio, the Genesee settlement, and without including the country between the northern limits of Kentucky and Pittsburg, or the country between Niagara, Detroit, and the sources of those rivers which run into the Ohio.

The upper settlement on the eastern side of the Ohio, will most likely follow the Cumberland and Holston in its independence. In peopling the new States I conclude the lowermost will be first settled, and consequently the first to be admitted into the federal government. The district of country that will be last settled in all probability, between the Ohio, the lakes, and the Mississippi, to the south of St. Anthony's Falls, is perhaps, that which lies between Niagara and Detroit, and extending to the ridge of hills which divides the waters of lake Erie and Ohio, by reason of its damp and cold soil. The surrender of the forts of Niagara and Detroit (which I understand is about to be done), may increase the settlements upon the borders of lake Erie ; but I think it is not likely that that inhospitable clime will find inhabitants, while the genial regions of the Mississippi are in a great measure uninhabited.

It

It is next necessary to take notice how, and in what probable time, these States will be inhabited. The first settlement upon the Ohio and the progress made in agriculture was extremely tardy. But it is necessary to recollect that America was not only in an infant state at the conclusion of the war in 1763, but that the continual wars with the Indians greatly retarded the progress of that settlement; and if the same obstructions have been given to the settlements on the western side of the Ohio, it is equally certain that the exhausted condition of the finances of the United States, until within a year and a half past, did not permit them to take those vigorous measures necessary to their tranquillity, and that permanent settlements on that side of the river, and the increase of the necessaries of life (which are now in greater abundance in the western country than in any other part of America) will enable them to support their situation with infinitely more ease, than when we were obliged to bring almost every thing for use over the mountain.

I have estimated the number of souls on the western waters at 400,000. I should suppose, from the disposition to early marriages, which is general, and the extraordinary fecundity which is every where observed, with the addition of the emigrants who may be expected from the eastern States, that the inhabitants

H 3

will

will double once in 15 years for the next 60 years to come at least,—which in the first 15 years will be equal to peopling four or five of these States; and I think we may expect to see at the end of 30 years the whole country I have been describing inhabited.

The ratio of increase after the first 30 years appears almost too astonishing for belief:—6,400,000 souls increase in the course of 60 years, when it is notorious that all America added to her population little more than 2,000,000 in the course of a century, no doubt will appear a calculation too extravagant; for which reason it will be necessary for me to state the rise of the one, and the probable growth of the other.

Mr. Jefferson, in his notes on Virginia (to which I shall have frequent occasion to advert in my subsequent letters), allows a duplication only once in 27½ years. He takes the space of 118 years inclusive from 1654, until the year 1772, when the tythes of Virginia had increased from 7209, to 135,025; which estimate he says is corroborated by the particular uniformity of the intermediate enumerations taken in 1700, 1748, and 1759. According to this increase, he supposes the inhabitants of Virginia alone will amount to between 6 and 7,000,000 within ninety-six years.

It appears, by a statement which he has made of the emigrants in different years to  
that

that country; that the greatest number in any one year was 3000, which was the year 1628. From the year 1654 the dissolution of the Virginia Company took place, and importations almost ceased until it became the practice of your government to transport convicts to the Colonies; so that it does not appear that the peopling of Virginia was materially owing to the migrations from Europe: whereas I have known upwards of 10,000 emigrants to arrive in the single State of Kentucky within one year, and from 4 to 10,000 in several other years.

Great part of the country from the Bay of Fundy to Cape Florida upon the sea coast is unfavourable to agriculture. New England has never yet produced corn sufficient to supply its inhabitants with bread; which must proceed either from the ignorance of the arts of husbandry in that country, or from the poverty of the soil: I believe both have helped to retard the progress of agriculture. Long Island is chiefly a sand heap, where the inhabitants seem for a great length of time to have been content to live upon fish. The State of New-York for a considerable distance back is a continuation of hills and stones. The country from Poughkeepsie to the capes of the Delaware is a flat of nothing but salt marshes and pine barrens, which extend for twenty miles up the country; and the whole  
country

country from those capes southward to the Gulf of Florida is no better, for a considerable distance from the sea, the bottoms of the rivers excepted ; so that the first settlers of America had not only the natives to contend against, but also extreme poverty.

The extension of the Dutch settlement from New-York up Hudson's river to the fine lands about Albany, and to the fertile banks of the Rariton, in Jersey, and the settlement of Pennsylvania by the celebrated Penn, first produced that plenty which is not only necessary to comfort, but is essential to occasion that fecundity which distinguishes the rapid population of most infant countries, after they have overcome the first difficulties of establishing a settlement.

As the natives were driven back, the settlers began to penetrate into the fertile regions of the middle parts of the States ; which lie at some distance from the sea coast. But, several causes now combined to retard the population of the country. The unfavourable appearance of the soil of New England induced most of its inhabitants to lead sea-faring lives, which not only tend to check the natural increase of men by the losses incidental to such an employment, but, hinder, in a material degree, the propagation of the species, by the separation of the sexes.

This



This business was in some measure common to the whole colonies. Besides which, the wars in which England was often engaged against France and Spain, and in which we were also concerned, with the frequent Indian wars, and the late American war, helped not a little to obstruct the natural proportion of the increase of inhabitants. America had only crossed the line between poverty and affluence when the late unfortunate war commenced. However, there was a still more nefarious and detestable cause for this slowness of population arising from the introduction of African slavery. Men began then to look upon it as infamous to labour—amusements were invented to fill up their time—dissipation followed in all the excess of idleness and folly. The fair sex were neglected: marriages were less early, and less frequent.—— And thus it happened that the inhabitants of Virginia were found to double only once in 27½ years, and which has been adopted by some persons as a criterion to estimate the increase of the inhabitants of all the other States; but it is not a fair criterion, for it is notorious that Pennsylvania is much better peopled than Virginia, though its first settlement was at a later date. But, now, for the reverse: Though we enjoy an extensive inland navigation, we are not liable to the same loss of men which the perils of the sea produce;

ees; nor any of that loss which maritime countries suffer by their citizens entering into foreign service, or settling in foreign countries: our voyages will be regulated by the periodical floods, and the æras of absence will be more determinate and certain; so that absence here cannot so materially interrupt domestic happiness, and cannot in the least retard the increase of inhabitants. It is impossible that we can experience any thing like poverty, for no country, perhaps, upon the globe is so rich in the comforts and necessities of life. As to wars, we can have none after a few years more are past. The Spaniards may put us to some inconvenience for a few years to come; but, in doing this, they will not only risk the loss of New Orleans, but the whole of Louisiana, which they consider as the key to Mexico. Thus secured from wars, and the inland navigation of the country not subjecting us to material losses in that business; with the propensity to early marriages, produced by the simplicity and innocence of youth, tutored under the pure maxims of virtue and reason; it cannot be considered as a sanguine calculation, when we add the additional consideration of the probable number of emigrants we may receive, that our population will double once in fifteen years.

Having endeavoured to give you an idea of the country north-west of the Ohio, omitted  
in

in my last ; and what will be the probable partitions of the New States to be laid off on that side of the river, the population, and expected increase of the inhabitants of the western country ; I shall take leave of you for the present, and in my next you shall have an account of its productions, navigations, &c.

I remain, affectionately,

Your's, &c.

## LETTER V.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

**I**N the advancement of civilization, agriculture seems to have been in every country the primary object of mankind—Arts and sciences have followed, and, ultimately, they have been relevant to each other. Fortunately for mankind, the present æra of reason, not only admits, but makes it necessary that they should go hand in hand. The decency of life is not the smallest of sublunary blandishments. Purity is to the body what virtue is to the soul;—an eternal invigorating germ, whose blossoms diffuse the most fragrant odours, and give a vivacity to the mind equally manly and delightful.

The western limits of the federal empire are bounded on the north by the lakes, Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, Michigan, Superior, and the lake of the wood; to the west by the Mississippi; and extending as far south as the Natchez or lat. 32 deg. then is bound by the Florida to the south. What is called the western ter-

ritory

ritory lies on this side of the Allegany mountain, within these limits.

Here is found all the variety of soil and climate necessary to the culture of every kind of grain, fibrous plants, cotton, fruits, vegetables, and all sorts of provisions. The upper settlements on the Ohio produce chiefly wheat, oats, barley, rye, Indian corn or maize, hemp and flax. The fruits, are apples, pears, cherries, peaches, plums, strawberries, raspberries, currants, goose-berries and grapes; of culinary plants and vegetables, there are turnips, potatoes, carrots, parsnips, cymbiline or squash, cucumbers, pease, beans, asparagus, cabbages, brocoli, celery and sallads; besides which there are melons and herbs of every sort. The provision consist of beef, pork, mutton, veal, and a variety of poultry, such as ducks, Muscovy ducks, turkeys, geese, dunghill fowls and pidgeons. The superfluous provisions are sold to the emigrants who are continually passing through those settlements, in their route to the different districts of country, and which I have enumerated. Some considerable quantity of spirits distilled from rye, and likewise cyder, are sent down the river to a market, in those infant settlements where the inhabitants have not had time to bring orchards to any perfection, or have not a superfluity of grain to distil into spirits. The beef, pork, and flour are disposed of in the same way. The flax and hemp

I

are



are packed on horses and sent across the mountain to the inland towns of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and (as I hinted in a former letter) in a few years when grazing forms the principal object of these settlers, they will always find a market for their cattle at Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria.

These settlements might produce a considerable quantity of sugar, but hitherto what they have made has served for little more than home consumption, as every part of the back country from lat. 42 to 36° produces an abundance of the sugar maple-tree as would be equal to furnish sugar for the inhabitants of the whole earth : and to send it to any of the market towns on the Atlantic, is too far to be profitable until the canals of the Potowmac shall have been finished. That country produces also all the pot-herbs which are common in Europe : several kinds of nuts grow in the forests, such as chefnuts, hickory, and black walnuts. The mountains, hills, and uninhabited parts abound in deer, wild turkeys, and a species of grouse which are called by the Americans promiscuously partridge or pheasant. There is an abundance of wild fowl, as is indeed the case in every part of the western country : to enumerate these could prove neither amusement or instruction,

Linen and woollen cloths, leather, and hats, for home consumption, are manufactured with  
 confi-

considerable success. The two first articles are only made in families for their own use ; but the latter are made by men of profession in that business, and are of a quality that would not disgrace the mechanics of Europe. Blacksmiths work of all sorts, even to making fire arms, is done there ; as is also cabinet work, wheel-wright, mill-wright, house carpentry, joinery, shoe-making, &c. &c. in short, all the trades immediately necessary to the promotion of the comforts of new settlements, are to be found here.

After passing to the southward of lat 40 deg. the climate becomes favourable to the culture of tobacco. It will, no doubt, grow farther to the north ; but neither its flavour is so aromatic, or the crop so certain or productive. Indeed the farther south tobacco grows, generally the finer its quality : hence it is, that the saegars of Cuba are so much admired for their peculiar scent, and the Oroonookoo for its mildness. However, this is of little consequence to any country, as it is certain no cultivation is so pernicious to the soil, and of so little real advantage to the cultivator. It continually impoverishes the land ; and every additional season, instead of producing riches to an estate, tends to beggar it : every vestige of its growth is misery and devastation, and no soil, but one as prolific as that of the Nile, would be capable of producing it for any

I 2

length

length of time, according to the system which has been pursued in Virginia and Maryland. However the whole of the Ohio and Mississippi country below lat. 40 deg. is perhaps better adapted to produce tobacco in quantity than any other country upon the face of the globe.

Kentucky produces, besides tobacco, all the different kinds of grain, which I have described, in the upper settlement; all the fruits, with the addition of apricots and nectarines; these and peaches grow here to very great perfection, particularly when planted upon a light soil, which should always be the case when it can be found; but however extraordinary it may appear, it is not often the case in this district of country.

Those culinary plants, vegetables, &c. I have enumerated above, are produced in the whole western country. In some parts they grow to greater perfection than in others, as in this the cucumber, turnips, peas, and many others are much finer than I ever saw them any where beside. The cantilope melon is only to be equalled by those in Persia. We are not at the trouble and expence of forcing. Every thing put into the ground of the vegetable kind, grows in a most wonderful manner.

The soil is uncommonly favourable to hemp and Indian corn. I have known 12 cwt. of the former produced from an acre of ground, and as much as 100 bushels of the latter.

This

This has not only been done from an uncommon fertile spot ; but there are large bodies of land adjoining, which are equally prolific. I believe, that, were I to mention upon an average the produce of the whole country, it would be found to be nearly as follows :

Hemp per acre	800 cwt.
Indian corn, or maze, ditto	60 bushels.
Wheat, ditto - - -	30 ditto.
Barley, ditto - - -	40 ditto.
Oats, ditto - - -	50 ditto.
Clover and timothy grass, ditto	25 cwt.

Besides hemp and flax for manufacturing, cotton is cultivated with considerable success, particularly in the southern parts of the State and Cumberland ; and, no doubt, in a few years, when our settlements extend to the Natchez, cotton will be produced in as great perfection as in the East or West Indies. No soil or climate can be more congenial to this plant than the regions on the lowermost parts of the Mississippi. We have it in our power to promote the culture of silk also. The mildness of the climate and the great quantity of the mulberry trees, which are every where interspersed in our forests, renders this matter extremely easy ; but how far this will be politic, when the use of silk is going out of fashion, is a matter that requires some consideration. Cotton has supplied its place, and its superior  
13 excellence,

excellence, I apprehend, will always make it a more profitable manufactory.

The growth of wool will form an important consideration with us. The plains I have described, extend quite to the mountains, so that sheep here may have every advantage which the flocks of Spain enjoy. If we can form any idea from the samples of wool produced in many parts of the country, we may conclude that our most sanguine expectations will be fully answered.

The buffalo are mostly driven out of Kentucky. Some are still found upon the head waters of Licking creek, Great Sandy, and the head waters of Green river. Deer abound in the extensive forests; but the elk confines itself mostly to the hilly and uninhabited places.

The rapidity of the settlement has driven the wild turkey quite out of the middle countries; but they are found in large flocks in all our extensive woods.

Amidst the mountains and broken countries are great numbers of the grouse I have described; and since the settlement has been established, the quail, by following the trail of grain which is necessarily scattered through the wilderness, has migrated from the old settlements on the other side the mountain, and has become a constant resident with us. This bird was unknown here on the first peopling of the country.

There



There is a variety of wild-fowl in every part of this State, particularly teal, and the summer duck. The latter breeds with us. Its incubation is always in temperate climates, which is the reason of its being called the summer duck.

The productions of Cumberland are nearly the same as those of Kentucky. The quality of Tobacco is perhaps something better; but the climate being considerably warmer, it is not so favourable to wheat and barley, nor does grass grow there so luxuriantly as with us.

The country below Cumberland soon becomes warm enough for indigo and rice; and perhaps these articles, in a few years, will be cultivated on the Mississippi with as much success, if not more, than they ever were in South Carolina or Georgia; particularly the former, as the soil on the Mississippi is infinitely more luxuriant than any in the Carolinas. Some essays were made in this business, previous to the late war; but the object was abandoned in the destruction of the settlement I mentioned in a former letter, made below the Natchez.

Oranges, and other tropical fruits, grow at the Natchez, and some distance above, to considerable perfection. There are a variety of nuts which grow both in Kentucky and Cumberland, some of which are common to both; the most remarkable of which is the Pecan; but as they have all been noticed, both by

Carver

Carver and Jefferson, I shall refer you to them for their particular descriptions and properties. Grapes, plumbs, gooseberries, and strawberries grow also spontaneously in the southern part of Kentucky, and in most parts of Cumberland.

The produce of the western country will be nearly the same in the same parallels of latitude throughout; so that comparing my imaginary States, with the settled country south-east of the Ohio, you will be able to form just idea of what they will be capable of producing. But to comprehend the object of the commerce of this country, it is first necessary to contemplate it, abounding in all the comforts of life, limited in its variety of climate only by what is not desirable; with a soil so prolific, a navigation so extensive, and a security so permanent from being inland, that seems this vast extent of empire is only to be equalled for its sublimity but by the object of its aggrandizement.

Provisions, tobacco, and raw materials will constitute the first articles of our trade. Such a quantity of beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheese &c. &c. might be furnished from this country as will, one day, no doubt, furnish the West India islands, and afford relief to the miserable Chinese, whose scanty portion of rice is only sufficient to keep soul and body together. Ocean mountainous countries must always prove excellent

cellent ranges for herds of cattle; the grass, in summer, affording sufficient food to fatten them, without the expence of cultivated meadows, and the winters are seldom so severe as to require any other food than the cane and sea-vine.

The navigation of this country has been much talked of. The distance from one place to another has been computed with some degree of accuracy, and the various experiments which have been made confirm the opinion that its difficulty is merely imaginary.

The common mode of descending the stream is in flat-bottomed boats, which may be built from 15 to 500 tons burthen. But, as far as I have been able to judge, I should suppose, that about 50 or 60 tons burthen would be the most convenient, wieldy, and consequently safe, particularly when the waters are very high, for in such cases the rapidity of the current makes it difficult to manage an unwieldy mass with facility. These boats are built of oak plank, with a certain proportion of breadth to their length, *i. e.* nearly as 12 feet to 40; which will be a boat of nearly 40 tons. They are covered or not as occasion may require. The object is to build them as cheap as possible, for their unwieldiness prevents the possibility of their returning, and they can only be sold as plank.

Several of these boats setting out together,  
let

let us suppose 5, 10, 15, or 20, of 60 tons but then each, which would require each 6 hands to navigate them. Ten boats then of 60 tons each will employ 60 hands, which will be equal to navigate up the stream 3 boats of 5 tons each, and which would be more than sufficient to bring back the cargo which the produce of the ten boats would purchase; as the articles we export are gross and bulky, while we want only in return superfine goods: the coarse goods of every sort will always be manufactured in the country. We also make our own salt, sugar, spirits, malt liquor, and shall soon make our own wine. These boats must be worked up with steam and sails.

— The invention of carrying a boat against the stream by the influence of steam, is a late improvement in philosophy by a Mr. Rumsey of Virginia, whose ingenuity has been rewarded by that State with the exclusive privilege of navigating those boats in her rivers for 14 years; and as this grant was given previous to the independence of Kentucky, the act of separation guarantees his right. Some circumstance or other has prevented his bringing them into use. However there can be no doubt of the success of his scheme, for the Assembly of Virginia had the most unequivocal assurances before they gave the privilege, in a certificate signed by General Washington and Mr. Page Esquire; setting forth that they had seen

en a boat which they believed to be constructed by Mr. Rumley, ascend a stream without the aid of manual labour, but without mentioning the operating cause, which has since appeared to be steam. If this principle could fail (and from such authority I do not conceive how it is to be presumed,) I flatter myself that philosophy is capable of supplying the place in the appropriation of some one of the secrets with which mechanics abound.

In taking a retrospective view of the world, we are for a moment surprised when we recollect that some thousands of years had elapsed before printing was invented, and that the only way of accumulating the copies of art and genius was by the tardy method of transcribing; and that the art of navigation was for nearly as long a time devious, and regulated by no certain laws, the stars and head lands of different countries being the only guides to the adventurous mariner, who often perished when the heavens were obscured. O Liberty! how many blessings hast thou brought us! Man, in promulgating his opinions, now finds security under the wings of an established freedom; and the dismal dungeon which eclipsed the luminous mind of the celebrated Italian, would now be erected into a school for him to lecture in, instead of a prison to bewail the miserable ignorance and depravity of his fellow-creatures. Truth and reason have led to this  
 meliora-



melioration of manners, it will lead to more benefits to mankind.—But should we still be obliged to row our boats against the stream, it is not only practicable but easy.

The frequent turnings in the Mississippi produce in every bend eddy water, which with the advantage the wind affords (which blowing the greater part of the year from the south west, and directly up the windings of the river, which, by reason of the vacancy between the banks and rising forests on either side, afford a channel for the current of the air) is sufficient with sails, keeping as much as possible in the eddy water, to carry a boat 50 miles a day up the stream.

To account for those winds philosophically would be extremely easy; but, as it is a circumstance notorious from the testimony of voyagers in the Mississippi and Ohio, I presume the test of experience will be preferred to an philosophical disquisition upon the subject.

Should this navigation prove too tedious, and no improvements appear likely to be made in it, the importing into the country may be facilitated by another channel, from the Gulf of Mexico up the Mobile, which is a lazy current; from the principal branch of which there is but a short passage to a branch of the Tennessee, when you will have the advantage of the stream quite into the Ohio. I have enumerated this circumstance merely for the sake of informing

information, for I have not the smallest doubt of the eligibility of the navigation of the Mississippi, which is proved from the experiments which are daily making.

The distance from Pittsburg to the Muskingum is 173 miles; to the Little Kenhaway 178; to the Great Kenhaway 285; to Great Sandy 342; to the Scioto 390; to Limestone 500; to the Little Miami 510; to Licking creek 524; to the Great Miami 550; to the Great-bone creek 582; to the Kentucky 626; to the Rapiers 703; to Salt river 723; to Green river 922; to the Wabash 1019; to Cumberland river 1113; to the Tenasee 1126; to the Mississippi 1183; from thence to New Orleans is about 1200.

I have mentioned that it is about 230 from the mouth of the Ohio up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, and about 20 from thence to Illinois, which is navigable for batteaux to its source. From thence there is a portage only of 2 miles to Chickago, which is also navigable for batteaux to its entrance into lake Michigan, which is a distance of 16 miles. This lake affords communication with the river St. Lawrence through lake Erie, passing Niagara by a portage of 8 miles. The lakes Erie and Michigan are navigable for vessels drawing 6 and 7 feet water. This is one of the routes by which the exchange of commodities

dities between the northern and southern part of this empire will be facilitated.

In continuing the plan of intercourse, it will be found extremely easy to pass through lake Ontario to Wood creek, up Wood creek, and by a portage of about 3 miles you arrive at a creek, which in 3 miles more brings you to Fort Edward upon the Mohawk river, which is a branch of Hudson's river. There are several carrying places between that and its junction with Hudson; but very little labour would remove them, and I have no doubt but the State of New York will be judicious enough to set early about it. It is certain that they have ordered surveys to be made, and plans are forming for the removal of those obstructions. It has been long in embryo with them. It was impossible a plan of such utility could escape that sage and penetrating politician General Schuyler, whose vast estate lies mostly in that part of America.

There are also portages into the waters of lake Erie from the Wabash, Great Miami, Muskingum, and Allegany, from 2 to 16 miles. The portage between the Ohio and Potowmac will be about 20 miles when the obstruction in the Monongahala and Cheat rivers are removed, which will form the first object of the gentlemen of Virginia when they have completed the canals on the Potowmac.

The obstructions to the navigation of the  
Grea



dities between the northern and southern part of this empire will be facilitated.

In continuing the plan of intercourse, it will be found extremely easy to pass through lake Ontario to Wood creek, up Wood creek, and by a portage of about 3 miles you arrive at a creek, which in 3 miles more brings you to Fort Edward upon the Mohawk river, which is a branch of Hudson's river. There are several carrying places between that and its junction with Hudson; but very little labour would remove them, and I have no doubt but the State of New York will be judicious enough to set early about it. It is certain that they have ordered surveys to be made, and plans are forming for the removal of those obstructions. It has been long in embryo with them. It was impossible a plan of such utility could escape that sage and penetrating politician General Schuyler, whose vast estate lies mostly in that part of America.

There are also portages into the waters of lake Erie from the Wabash, Great Miami, Muskingum, and Allegany, from 2 to 16 miles. The portage between the Ohio and Potowmac will be about 20 miles when the obstruction in the Monongahala and Cheat rivers are removed, which will form the first object of the gentlemen of Virginia when they have completed the canals on the Potowmac.

The obstructions to the navigation of the Great



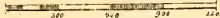
*A Plan of*  
**THE RAPIDS**  
*of the*  
**OHIO**



*From A to B a Canal  
is intended to be cut.*

*The Dotted Line marks  
the Channel of the River.*

*Scale of Yards*





Great Kanhaway are of such magnitude, that it will require a work of ages to remove them; but if ever that should be done, there will be an easy communication between that and James river, and likewise with the Oroonootoo, which runs through North Carolina. But this is an event too remote to deserve any consideration at present.

All the rivers in this country of 60 yards wide and upwards, are navigable almost to their sources for flat-bottomed boats during their floods, and for batteaux the greater part of the year, the great Kanhaway and little Miami excepted. The Tenaſsee has a considerable fall where it passes through Cumberland Mountain, where there must be a portage also. From thence it is navigable quite to Holston.

The rapids of the Ohio I have described in former letter. They are no obstruction in high water to boats going down the river, and indeed batteaux may pass almost at any time. There are two small rapids in the Wabash between its mouth and St. Vincent's, but they are no impediment to navigation, except at times of low water. The Kaskaskia is a small river which runs into the Mississippi below the Illinois, and is navigable a considerable way above the plains. The Mississippi is navigable to St. Anthony's Falls, without any obstruction. Carver describes it as navigable above

them as far as he travelled. We have too little knowledge of the Missouri to form any decided opinion of the extent of its navigation. It is however certain, that it is a more powerful stream than the Mississippi, and in entering that river, it triumphantly rushes across, and its turbid waters, unmixed, seem to disdain a connection so inferior. From the best information that we have been able to collect, it is navigable for 12 or 1500 miles above its mouth without obstruction; and I think it is not unlikely that in settling the country towards its source, we shall find it is not remote from the sources of the streams running into the Pacific Ocean, and that a communication may be opened between them with as much ease as between the Ohio and Potomac, and also between the settlements on the Mississippi and California. This circumstance is the more likely to happen, as it does not appear that the ridges of hills which divide the waters of the Pacific ocean from the waters of the Mississippi, are either so high or so rugged as the Allegany mountain.

You will observe, that as far as this immense continent is known, the courses and extent of its rivers are extremely favourable to communication by water; a circumstance which is highly important, whether we regard it in a social or commercial point of view. The intercourse of men has added no inconsiderable lus-



tre to the polish of manners, and perhaps, commerce has tended more to civilize and embellish the human mind, in two centuries, than war and chivalry would have done in five.

The federal government regulating every thing commercial, must be productive of the greatest harmony, so that while we are likely to live in the regions of perpetual peace, our felicity will receive a zest from the activity and variety of our trade. We shall pass through the Mississippi to the sea—up the Ohio, Monongahala and Cheat rivers, by a small portage, into the Potowmac, which will bring us to the federal city on the line of Virginia and Maryland—through the several rivers I have mentioned, and the lakes to New-York and Quebec—from the northern lakes to the head branches of the rivers which run into Hudson's-bay into the Arctic regions—and from the sources of the Missouri into the Great South Sea. Thus in the centre of the earth, governing by the laws of reason and humanity, we seem calculated to become at once the emporium and protectors of the world.

Before I finish this letter, I shall just enter into some of the minutiae of the distance and time of descending down the Ohio, which will serve for an account of all the other rivers. Mr. Jefferson has stated that “the inundations of the Ohio begin about the last of March, and subside in July.” He has written his notes on



Virginia like a man of Erudition, and considering that he never was in this country, he has given such an account of it as cannot be displeasing to an European. But, as in every thing which has characterized his political life, his judgment in this appears superficial, and his mind attached to the theory of its own fabrication. Frequent rains in the latter end of the autumn produce floods in the Ohio, and it is an uncommon season when one of those floods does not happen before Christmas. If there is much frosty weather in the upper parts of the country, its waters generally remain low until they begin to thaw. But, if the river is not frozen over (which is not very common,) there is always water sufficient for boats of any size from November until May; when the waters generally begin to subside; and by the middle of June in most seasons they are too low for boats above forty tons, and these must be flat-bottomed. The frost seldom continues so long as the middle of February, and immediately upon its breaking the river is flooded; this flood may in a degree subside, but for no length of time; and it is from that period until May that the boats generally come down the river. The distance of descending is in proportion to the height of the water; but the average distance is about eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and from sixty to one hundred are the extremes: so that the mean time of going

n a flat-bottomed boat from Pittsburg to the Rapids, is between eight and nine days, and about twenty days more to New Orleans : which will make a passage from Pittsburg to that place nearly a month. The inundations of the Mississippi commence something later than those of the Ohio ; but it is very certain they begin in March, and subside in July. This is the most proper time to ascend the river, as you avoid the shoals, have finer weather, but above all, when the water is high, you have stronger eddies ; and with taking these advantages, and with dexterous watermen, you may proceed fifty miles a day which will bring you back to the Rapids of the Ohio in forty days, making a large allowance for contingencies.

I shall take leave of you for the present, with observing, that the smaller rivers have no stated periods to govern their inundations ; but are subject to be flooded by all heavy rains, which is a great advantage to the country, as it affords the inhabitants frequent opportunities of sending their produce to the several markets upon the large rivers.

I am,

Yours, &c.

L E T-

## LETTER VI.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

**I**N the œconomy of the creation how wonderfully is the wisdom of Providence displayed? Some animals are formed with particular stomachs, as in the instance of the camel which has one adapted to contain water. It is aboriginal in the torrid zone, where the rarefaction of the air is so great, and consequently more subject to drought. In the Artic regions we find the musk buffalo, or goat, clad with long wool, which secures it against inclement cold. Man, the most defenceless, naked, and helpless of all in an infant state, in his maturity is superior in reason; and thus the faculties of his mind and body, unite in making him sovereign of the world. "Born to destroy the inferior race of animals, he would exhaust all nature, if, by a fecundity superior to his depredations, she did not repair the perpetual havock he makes. But death is only the minister of life, and destruction is the parent of reproduction."

The

The articles of sugar and salt, though not absolutely necessities of life, have become, from habit, so essential, that I doubt if any civilized people would be content to live without them. The extensive climate of this country I believe is no where warm enough for the cultivation of the sugar cane with success; and to import it would be too expensive by reason of its great weight; but nature has superseded that necessity in the supply of the sugar maple tree. It has been long known that sugar could be made from the juice of this tree; but from the imperfect knowledge of the business of sugar-making, the samples from this liquid were such as promised no great expectations in future experiments: however the necessity which the people were under of making them or doing without sugar, proved, that with care and proper management, it could be made equal to the finest sugars of the West Indies or Brazil. Some samples shewn to a sugar refiner in Philadelphia (which astonished him) produced several instructions in the art which occasioned immediate success.

The people began to treat the sugar-trees more tenderly; and instead of chopping a large gap in their trunk, which had always been the practice, and which was sufficient to destroy a less tender tree, the juice was found to exude as effectually from an incision made with a screw auger of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch diameter. But  
this

this was the smallest of the improvements. All the means made use of in the West-Indies for the perfection of the art were soon ascertained and practised: so that the country is not only equal to supply itself with sugar, but might with increase of hands, supply the inhabitants of the globe.

The sugar maple tree not only grows in the greatest abundance throughout this country, within the limits I have mentioned; but it is known to be the hardiest, and the most difficult to destroy of all the trees in our forests (the beech not excepted) by the planters, who have a method of chopping or girdling the trunks of trees about one foot and a half above the ground, in order to kill them, and thereby they prevent their crops from being shaded.

It is known that old trees produce the most and the richest juice; and it is also known that trees which have been used for years are better than fresh trees. It is a common remark that whenever you see a black tree of this sort, it is a sure sign it is a rich one. The blackness proceeds from the incisions made in the bark by the pecking of the parroquet, and other birds, in the season of the juice rising, which oozing out, dribbles down its sides and stains the bark, which in the progression of time becomes black.



I have mentioned these particulars with a view to prevent your falling into the general error, that the resource of making sugar from the maple will soon be destroyed from the very nature of producing it; believing, as many do, that it is impossible for the tree to be able to bear the annual wounds which are necessary to be made in its trunk in order to draw off the juice; and that a few years must necessarily extirpate them; now, so far from there being any danger of that, experience has shewn that the longer they are used in a proper manner, the more plentiful and rich will be their juice to a certain age, which will be in proportion to the life of those trees. No exact estimate can be made of that; but I conclude their decay is not earlier than other trees.

Both in the animal and vegetable world it has been observed that the existence of life, according to the natural order of things, is in proportion to the period of time required to produce maturity. There are exceptions to this principle to be sure; as the crane for instance, which seems to acquire maturity as early as most other birds, is known to live a century and upwards. However, it is very certain that the life of a sugar maple, is as long as an oak, or any other tree.

If there is any analogy between animal and vegetable substances (and which there most certainly

certainly is), the increasing plenty and richness of the juice from the use and age of the sugar-tree, will it not be thought more extraordinary, than that the quantity of milk is greater and more rich produced from a cow which has been used for years, than from one which has been neglected or prevented from breeding annually.

The season of tapping is mostly about the middle of February, in Kentucky; but not until the latter end of the month, about Pittsburgh, in the remote parts of Pennsylvania, or the head branches of the Susquehanna, and Delaware, and in the state of New-York. Frosty mornings and bright sunshine are necessary to produce copious exudations. The season continues in this climate about six weeks, when the juice is found to be too thin and poor to make sugar; but it is still capable of making molasses, spirits by distillation, vinegar, and an agreeable table beer.

The business of sugar-making is mostly managed by women and boys; the men generally having nothing more to do with it than to tap the trees, prepare the sheds, and different apparatus. So that our agricultural employments are very little obstructed by this business, which produces so important an article for domestic uses. The perfection to which we have brought our sugars has induced many people in the upper parts of the States of New York

York and Pennsylvania to make a business of it during the season of the juice running; and considerable quantities have been sent to the markets of Philadelphia and York, not inferior to the best clayed, French, and Spanish sugars.

The salt springs which have been found in the single state of Kentucky, under proper management, would be sufficient to produce salt for all the inhabitants which the western country could support. There are at least twelve of those springs between Great Sandy and Cumberland; the principal of which are the upper and lower blue licks, on Licking creek; one on the Great-bone creek; one on Drimmon's lick creek, about a mile and a half from the mouth of the Kentucky; and Bulbit's lick, on Salt river, 20 miles from the rapids of the Ohio. This spring is the first that was worked in the country. The first essays in this business were also imperfect, which, however, proceeded more from poverty than ignorance. The great principle by which the saline particles are chrystalized, is universally known to be by the evaporation of the humid; and the greater the superficial surface of that evaporation, the more rapidly the chrystals will form. But the first settlers could not procure salt pans, and were obliged to use as a substitute the pots and kettles which they had brought out for domestic purposes.

L

Such

Such was the commencement of making salt in this country; which, from its scarcity and high price, in some measure discouraged the settlement of the country. However, the great improvements since that æra have done away all those fears, and salt is now manufactured in plenty, and sold cheap.

The water is by no means so strong as sea water. It requires nearly four hundred gallons to make one bushel of salt, which is more by one half than would be wanted of sea-water to produce that quantity.

The water is not collected immediately from the spring. An area of from five to ten acres round those springs is found to be impregnated with this mineral, so that by digging wells in any part of that space salt water is discovered. From this circumstance I am of opinion, that by digging pits a body of earth would be found strongly impregnated with salt, from which the saline particles might be more easily separated than from water; and it is certain, that if the water receives its particles of salt from the earth which it passes through, such earth must contain a large proportion of salt, otherwise the strength of the water would not be so considerable. However it will require some time to determine this matter, as the infancy of our country will not permit us to speculate too largely in experiments which  
would

would be attended with heavy expences, were they not to prove successful.

Salt springs have been found in every part of the western country which has been well explored, and I have no doubt that time will prove that every part of it is well supplied with them. The manner by which they are mostly found in uninhabited places is, by the large buffalo roads which lead to them. Whenever the ramification of those roads begins to centre, it is almost an infallible sign that a salt lick is near. Those animals resorting to them throughout the temperate part of the year for the benefit of the salt, make large roads, which leading from the lick, branch different ways into the country.

We have various other minerals, such as iron (which is the most useful), copper, lead, sulphur, nitre, &c. &c. Iron ore is found in great plenty upon the northern branches of Licking creek, and likewise upon the waters of Green river. A lead mine has been worked many years with considerable profit, which lies in the county of Montgomery, upon the waters of the Great Kanaway. There is another between the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers which is said to be very valuable, and its ore is more pure than any other which has been discovered in America. But the lead mine on the Mississippi must prove inexhaustible. It extends from the mouth of Rock river more than one hundred miles upwards.



Besides these there are several others, some of which lie on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, and have been used for years past. Copper mines have been discovered in several places, but the mine on the Wabash is, perhaps, the richest vein of native copper in the bowels of the whole earth; and no doubt will render all the others of little or no value. Sulphur is found in several places in abundance; and nitre is made from earth which is collected from caves and other places to which the wet has not penetrated. The making this salt, in this country, is so common, that many of the settlers manufacture their own gunpowder. This earth is discovered in greater plenty on the waters of Green river, than it is in any other part of Kentucky. But, perhaps still farther southward, it will be found in greater plenty. However, it is so common in every part of the country that it might be made a considerable article for exportation. I have heard of black lead mines upon the head waters of the Kentucky, but I have not been able to procure any certain information respecting them. But I should conceive that there can be little doubt that, when the country, and particularly the mountainous parts of it, are well explored, all the useful minerals will be found in abundance.

I have already mentioned the coal mines in the upper parts of the Ohio country; besides which

which there are great quantities of coal upon the upper branches of the Mississippi. It is particularly favourable that this mineral lies at the heads of our larger rivers, as it can be sent down with the greatest facility ; and it is very certain that the great body of it which the Ohio country alone contains, is equal to answer all the purposes for which it may be wanted throughout this extensive empire.

Though the champaign part of this country has no stone on its surface, yet every where limestone is found from 6 to 15 feet below it. Most of the bottoms of our rivulets and streams are paved with this stone. It is very easily calcined, when it becomes excellent lime. It is also convenient for building, by reason of its peculiar smoothness, and the ease with which it may be worked into any form. Besides this stone, which is the most common, every other kind of stone is found which is either useful or ornamental, such as flint, grindstone, and millstones, of a very good quality, which have been reckoned equal to French burrs. There is the greatest plenty of marble upon the banks of the Kentucky, particularly at Leesburg. I have not seen any which has been polished ; but judges in that business give us the most flattering ideas of its quality.

Clay is very common in every part of this country which is proper for bricks ; and there

is a superior kind on the Beech fork of Salt river, which no doubt might be manufactured into good porcelian. Carver has mentioned a clay of this sort which he saw above St. Anthony's falls. Marle, chalk, gypsum, and ochres, are found in various parts.

Mr. Jefferson has described the medicinal, inflammable, bituminous, and other springs, very accurately; and as there have been no discoveries or light thrown upon the subject since he wrote, I shall refer you to his book for a particular account of them. Indeed, his account of the natural history of this country is generally to be depended upon, so that it is scarcely possible to make any improvement upon it, until farther discoveries shall have arisen; I therefore confine myself to such objects as he has not taken notice of, and to such as have presented themselves since he wrote, occasionally making some strictures and animadversions upon his opinions and information.

I have observed that the climate of this country is various. But, as climate is frequently different in the same parallels of latitude, I will endeavour to give you some idea of the difference between the climate on the upper parts of the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, of Kentucky and Virginia, and of Cumberland and North Carolina, which lie in nearly the same parallels one with another.

It

It is well known that the climate upon the Atlantic coast of America is in the extreme of heat and cold, and that it is more variable than when it was first settled by Europeans; but the winters are milder. The extremes proceed no doubt from the immense continent, which lies to the north-west, and which is interspersed with fresh water lakes. The rarified air of the torrid zone rushing in currents through the upper regions to the Arctic circle, leaves a vacancy for the cold air, which, in supplying its place, causes those frequent chills or variations in the spring and autumn, and alternate frost, rain, and mild weather in winter, which are so common in the middle parts of that country. The cold is more steady to the north of Hudson's river; but the power of the sun to the south of  $41^{\circ}$ , by counteracting the influence of the northern winds, occasions those sudden changes from heat to cold. Opening the country has greatly tended already to lessen the cold, by consequence of the greater power of the sun upon the earth; and a general cultivation, by producing a warmer atmosphere, through which the north wind passes, must tend to moderate the climate generally upon the Atlantic sea.

The greatest part of Pennsylvania which lies between latitude  $41^{\circ}$  and  $39^{\circ} 40'$  should, from its situation upon the globe, be a very excellent climate; and no doubt in time it will.

At

At present it is too subject to extremes; and by the too frequent and violent bracing, and sudden relaxation of the animal system, the elasticity of the nerves is injured, and thus the marks of age are visible at an earlier period in some parts of America than in others.

Farther southward the cold is less; but as the heat is proportionally greater, the extremes are much the same quite to South Carolina. As you approach the ridge of mountains which run through America from north to south, the inhabitants look more healthy, which is the consequence of the climate being more temperate and steady.

The country on the upper parts of the Ohio, and between Pittsburg and Lake Erie, is considerably colder than Pennsylvania and Maryland, which no doubt is occasioned, in a great degree, in the former, from its proximity to the mountains; but in a greater degree, in both, from the country around them being a continual forest.

When you arrive in Kentucky you experience a greater temperature of air than in any country I have ever travelled in, Fahrenheit's thermometer seldom falling below 35 deg. in winter, nor rising above 80 in summer. The approach of the seasons is gradual. The summer continues mostly to the middle of October. The autumn, or mild weather, generally continues until Christmas, when we have  
some



some cold and frost until February ; when spring approaches, and by the beginning of March several shrubs and trees begin to shoot forth their buds ; by the middle of the month, the buck-eye, or horse chestnut is clad in its summer's livery ; and by the middle of April the foliage of the forests is completely expanded : which is a fortnight earlier than the leaves are shot in Virginia and Maryland. Cumberland is proportionally more temperate than North-Carolina, as Kentucky is to Virginia.

The rarefied air from the southern regions, must be more considerable from that tract or space of the globe covered by salt water than from the countries covered with forests — Now, as almost all America may be considered as one forest, it appears to me that the vacancy occasioned by rarefaction in southern latitudes must be greater in the regions of air, both over the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, than upon the continent ; and that the cold air from the polar circle rushes both to the S.E. & S.W. and consequently the middle parts of our continent must be less subject to cold and variation, by being more out of the course of the cold winds, than the countries either upon the Atlantic or Pacific sea-coasts.

How far this theory may prove satisfactory, I can form no idea. If it is unphilosophical, I hope you will treat it accordingly ; it is the only way that I can account for the very great differ-

difference between the climate of this country, and that of Virginia.

Another cause for our greater temperature in summer is, doubtless, owing to our lying so much higher. It is one continual but gradual rise from Richmond for 200 miles back. There are several risings and fallings afterwards, and several mountains in the wilderness; but I have always observed that the rise from the east to their summits, was greater than the descent west, to their base, which makes the elevation of Kentucky considerably above that of Virginia. Besides Kentucky has no marshes or bogs, which are very considerable in the lower parts of Virginia, and the exhaled vapours from them produce deleterious, air which appears hotter than it really is.

Mr. Jefferson's table of average heat and cold for the different months, made from the observations of five successive years, though it furnished him with a data to estimate theoretically the climate of Virginia, can afford you no idea of its temperature. Perhaps in some of those years, the mercury was below 0 during the winter. But when he has stated the least and greatest daily heat by Fahrenheit's thermometer for January to be from  $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to  $44^{\circ}$  you can have no conception that there can be any frost in Virginia. I do not mean to say that it is common for the mercury to fall below 0 in that country, but I mean to be understood that

that frost is very frequent there, and that by taking the average of the greatest heat and the greatest cold, when the extremes are so great as they are in Virginia, it is impossible for a stranger to form a just idea of its climate.—Mr. Jefferson allows that the extremes are very considerable, and that the mercury has been known to descend from 92 deg. to 47 in thirteen hours.

A journey to the Illinois will prevent me from writing you again as soon as I could wish; but I shall ever remain

Yours, &c.

## L E T T E R VII.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

**I**T is natural, I think, that you should expect by this time some account of the inhabitants, their manner of living, the mode settling the country, the routes, distance, and mode of travelling to it, with some information respecting religion and political sentiments, and the social pleasures of the people; all of which, I am afraid, will require too much time for a letter, and therefore I beg that you will be content to receive the information in the desultory manner in which I shall be enabled to send it.

In some of my first letters I gave you an account of the first settlement of this country. The perturbed state of that period, and the savage state of the country, which was one entire wilderness, made the object of the first emigrants that of security and sustenance which produced the scheme of several families living together in what were called Stations. These stations were a kind of quadrangular, or  
some

sometimes oblong forts, formed by building log-houses connectedly, only leaving openings for gate-ways to pass as they might have occasion. They were generally fixed in a favourable situation for water, and in a body of good land. Frequently the head of some party of connections who had a settlement and pre-emption right, seized upon these opportunities to have his land cleared, which was necessary for the support of the station; for, it was not only prudent to keep close in their forts at times, but it was also necessary to keep their horses and cows up, otherwise the Indians would carry off the horses, and shoot and destroy the cattle.

Under such circumstances, the first settlement of Kentucky was formed, which soon opened a considerable quantity of land in the county of Lincoln, which lies in the upper part of the state, and contiguous to the wilderness, which ends in this delightful region.

As the country gained strength, the stations began to break up in that part of the country, and their inhabitants to spread themselves, and settle upon their respective estates. But the embarrassment they were in for most of the conveniences of life, did not admit of their building any other houses but of logs, and of opening fields in the most expeditious way for planting the Indian corn; the only grain which was cultivated at that time.

M

A log-



A log-house is very soon erected, and in consequence of the friendly disposition which exists among those hospitable people, every neighbour flew to the assistance of each other upon occasions of emergencies. Sometimes they were built of round logs entirely, covered with rived ash shingles, and the interstices stopped with clay, or lime and sand, to keep out the weather. The next object was to open the land for cultivation. There is very little under-wood in any part of this country, so that by cutting up the cane, and girdling the trees, you are sure of a crop of corn. The fertility of the soil amply repays the labourer for his toil; for if the large trees are not very numerous, and a large proportion of them the sugar maple, it is very likely from this imperfect cultivation, that the ground will yield from 50 to 60 bushel of corn to the acre. The second crop will be more ample; and as the shade is removed by cutting the timber away, great part of our land will produce from seventy to one hundred bushels of corn from an acre. This extraordinary fertility enables the farmer who has but a small capital to increase his wealth in a most rapid manner (I mean by wealth the comforts of life.) His cattle and hogs will find sufficient food in the woods, not only for them to subsist upon, but to fatten them. His horses want no provender the greatest part of the year except cane and wild clover;

clover ; but he may afford to feed them with corn the second year. His garden, with little attention, produces him all the culinary roots and vegetables necessary for his table ; and the prolific increase of his hogs and poultry, will furnish him the second year, without fearing to injure his stock, with a plenty of animal food ; and in three or four years his stock of cattle and sheep will prove sufficient to supply him with both beef and mutton ; and he may continue his plan at the same time of increasing his stock of those useful animals. By the fourth year, provided he is industrious, he may have his plantation in sufficient good order to build a better house, which he can do either of stone, brick, or a framed wooden building, the principle articles of which will cost him little more than the labour of himself and domestics ; and he may readily barter or sell some part of the superfluous productions of his farm, which it will by this time afford, and procure such things as he may stand in need of for the completion of his building. Apples, peaches, pears, &c. &c. he ought to plant when he finds soil or eligible situation to place them in, as that will not hinder, or in any degree divert, him from the object of his aggrandizement.— I have taken no notice of the game he might kill, as it is more a sacrifice of time to an industrious man than any real advantage.

Such has been the progress of the settlement

of this country, from dirty stations or forts, and smoke huts, that it has expanded into fertile fields, blushing orchards, pleasant gardens, luxuriant sugar groves, neat and commodious houses, rising villages, and trading towns. Ten years have produced a difference in the population and comforts of this country, which to be portrayed in just colours would appear marvellous. To have implicit faith or belief that such things have happened, it is first necessary to be (as I have been) a spectator of such events.

Emigrations to this country were mostly from the back parts of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, until 1784: in which year many officers who had served in the American army during the late war came out with their families; several families came also from England, Philadelphia, New Jersey, York, and the New England States. The country soon began to be chequered after that æra with genteel men, which operated both upon the minds and actions of the back woods people, who constituted the first emigrants. A taste for the decorum and elegance of the table was soon cultivated; the pleasures of gardening were considered not only as useful but amusing. These improvements in the comforts of living and manners, awakened a sense of ambition to instruct their youth in useful and accomplished arts. Social pleasures were regard-  
ed

ed as the most inestimable of human possessions—the genius of friendship appeared to foster the emanations of virtue, while the cordial regard, and sincere desire of pleasing produced the most harmonizing effects. Sympathy was regarded as the essence of the human soul, participating of celestial matter, and as a spark engendered to warm our benevolence and lead to the raptures of love and rational felicity.

With such sentiments our amusements flow from the interchange of civilities, and a reciprocal desire of pleasing. That sameness may not cloy, and make us dull, we vary the scene as the nature of circumstances will permit.—The opening spring brings with it the prospect of our summer's labour, and the brilliant sun actively warms into life the vegetable world, which blooms and yields a profusion of aromatic odours. A creation of beauty is now a feast of joy, and to look for amusements beyond this genial torrent of sweets, would be a perversion of nature, and a sacrilege against heaven.

The season of sugar making occupies the women, whose mornings are cheered by the modulated buffoonery of the mocking bird, the tuneful song of the thrush, and the gaudy plumage of the parroquet.—Festive mirth crowns the evening.—The business of the day being over, the men join the women in the sugar groves where enchantment seems to dwell.

—The lofty trees wave their spreading branches over a green turf, on whose soft down the mildness of the evening invites the neighbouring youth to sportive play; while our rural Nestors, with calculating minds, contemplate the boyish gambols of a growing progeny, they recount the exploits of their early age, and in their enthusiasm forget there are such things as decrepitude and misery. Perhaps a convivial song or a pleasant narration closes the scene.

Rational pleasures meliorate the soul; and it is by familiarizing man with uncontaminated felicity, that sordid avarice and vicious habits are to be destroyed.

Gardening and fishing constitute some part of the amusements of both sexes. Flowers and their genera form one of the studies of our ladies; and the embellishment of their houses with those which are known to be salutary, constitute a part of their employment.—Domestic cares and music fill up the remainder of the day, and social visits without ceremony or form, leave them without ennui or disgust.—Our young men are too gallant to permit the women to have separate amusements, and thus it is that we find that suavity and politeness of manners universal, which can only be effected by feminine polish.

The autumn and winter produces not less pleasure. Evening visits mostly end with dancing



dancing by the young people, while the more aged indulge their hilarity, or disseminate information in the disquisition of politics or some useful art or science.

Such are the amusements of this country, which have for their basis hospitality, and all the variety of good things which a luxuriant soil is capable of producing, without the alloy of that distress or misery which is produced from penury or want. Malt liquor, and spirits distilled from corn and the juice of the sugar tree mixed with water, constitute the ordinary beverage of the country. Wine is too dear to be drank prodigally ; but that is a fortunate circumstance, as it will be an additional spur to us to cultivate the vine.

The routes from the different Atlantic States to this country are various, as may be supposed. From the northern States it is through the upper parts of Pennsylvania to Pittsburg, and then down the river Ohio.—The distance from Philadelphia to Pittsburg is nearly three hundred miles. From Lancaster about two hundred and thirty. The route through Redstone and by Pittsburg, both from Maryland and Virginia, is the most eligible, provided you have much baggage ; except you go from the southern and back counties of Virginia ; then your best and most expeditious way is through the wilderness.—From Baltimore, passing Old Town upon the Potow-

Potowmac, and by Cumberland Fort, Brad-dock's road, to Redstone Old Fort on the Monongahala, is about two hundred and forty miles; and from Alexandria to the same place, by Winchester Old Town, and then the same route across the mountain, is about two hundred and twenty miles. This last must be the most eligible for all Europeans who may wish to travel to this country, as the distance by land is shorter, the roads better, and the accommodations good; *i. e.* they are very good to Old Town, which is one hundred and forty miles from Alexandria, and from thence to Redstone comfortable, and plentifully supplied with provisions of all sorts: the road over the mountain is rather rough, but no where in the least difficult to pass.

Travellers or emigrants take different methods of transporting their baggage, goods, or furniture from the places they may be at to the Ohio, according to circumstances, or their object in coming to the country. For, instance, if a man is travelling only for curiosity, or has no family or goods to remove, his best way would be to purchase horses, and take his route through the Wilderness; but provided he has a family, or goods of any sort to remove, his best way, then, would be to purchase a wagon and team of horses to carry his property to Redstone Old Fort, or to Pittsburg, according as he may come from the northern

or southern States. A good waggon will cost at Philadelphia about 10l. (I shall reckon every thing in sterling money for your greater convenience) and the horses about 2l. each; they would cost something more at Baltimore and Alexandria. The waggon may be covered with canvas, and if it is the choice of the people, they may sleep in it at nights with the greatest safety. But if they should dislike that, there are inns of accommodation the whole distance on the different roads. To allow the horses a plenty of hay and corn would cost about 1s. *per diem*, each horse; supposing you purchase your forage in the most economical manner, *i. e.* of the farmers, as you pass along, from time to time as you may want it, and carry it in your waggon; and not of inn-keepers, who must have their profits. The provisions for the family I would purchase in the same manner; and by having two or three camp kettles, and stopping every evening when the weather is fine upon the brink of some rivulet, and by kindling a fire they may soon dress their food. There is no impediment to these kind of things, it is common and may be done with the greatest security; and I would recommend all persons who wish to avoid expence as much as possible to adopt this plan. True, the charges at inns on those roads are remarkably reasonable, but I have mentioned those particulars as there are many unfortunate people in  
the

the world, to whom the saving of every shilling is an object, and as this manner of journeying is so far from being disagreeable, that in a fine season it is extremely pleasant.

Provisions in those countries are very cheap, beef, mutton, and pork, are something less than 2d. per lb. ; dunghill fowls are from 4d. to 6d. each ; duck, 8d. ; geese and turkeys, 1s. 3d. ; butter, 5d. ; cheese, I will say nothing about, as there is very little good until you arrive in Kentucky. Flour is about 12s. 6d. per cwt.

The best way is to carry their tea and coffee from the place they may set out at ; good green tea will be from 4s. 6d. to 6s. per lb. ; fouchong from 3s. to 5s. ; coffee will cost from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per lb. ; loaf sugar from 7d. to 10d. But I would not recommend their carrying much sugar, for as the back country is approached, the maple sugar is in abundance, and may be bought from 4d. to 6d. per lb. Such are the expences to be incurred travelling to this country by Redstone and Pittsburg.

The distance which one of those waggons may travel one day with another is little short of twenty miles. So that it will be a journey from Alexandria to Redstone Old Fort of eleven or twelve days, from Baltimore a day or two longer, and from Philadelphia to Pittsburg I should suppose it would require nearly  
twenty

twenty days ; as the roads are not so good as from the two former places.

From these prices the expence of removing a family, from either of the sea ports I have mentioned to the Ohio, may be computed with tolerable exactitude.

The best time for setting out for this country from any of the Atlantic ports, is the latter end of either September or April. The autumn is the most eligible of the two ; as it is most likely that the roads across the mountain will be drier, and provisions and forage are then both more plentiful and cheap than in the spring.

If this mode should not suit the convenience of the party, by reason of their not wanting a waggon or horses when they arrive in this country, they may have their goods brought out to Redstone Old Fort from Alexandria for 15s. per cwt. and in like proportion from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

At Redstone Old Fort, or Pittsburg, they can either buy a boat, which will cost them about 5s. per ton, or freight their goods to Kentucky for about 1s. per cwt. There is no regular business of this sort ; but as there are always boats coming down the river, 1s. per cwt. is the common charge for freight. But more frequently when there is boat room to spare, it is given to such as are not able to purchase a boat, or have not a knowledge of the  
the



the navigation. However, that is a business which requires no skill, and there are always numbers of people coming down, who will readily conduct a boat for the sake of a passage.

The distance from Philadelphia by land to Kentucky is between seven and eight hundred miles; from Baltimore nearly seven hundred nearly six hundred from Alexandria; and upwards of five hundred from Richmond. The roads and accommodations are tolerably good to the borders of the Wilderness; through which it is hardly possible for a carriage to pass, great part of the way being over high and steep hills, upon the banks of the river and along defiles, which in some places seem to threaten you at every step with danger. This is the only route the people coming from the upper parts of Virginia and North Carolina can take at present to get into the country the gap of Cumberland mountain being the only place it can be passed without the greater difficulty. The opening the Tenaſsee will afford a convenient communication with the Mississippi. The Wilderness, which was formerly two hundred miles through, without a single habitation, is reduced from the settlement of Powel's Valley, to nearly one half of that distance; and it is to be expected that in a few years more that the remainder of the distance will afford settlements for the accommodation

commodation of people travelling that route ; when a good road may be made quite to Kentucky. The canals I have spoken of which are cutting on the Potowmac, and the removal of the obstructions in Cheat river, will render the passage from Alexandria, or the federal city to the Ohio, both cheap and easy.

Upon the arrival of emigrants in the country they generally take a view of that part which it is their object to settle in, and according to their circumstances, or calling, fix upon such a situation as may appear eligible for their business. But as the greater proportion of the emigrants who come to this country are husbandmen I shall only take notice of their manner of proceeding and settling a farm. Land is to be purchased in every part of the country : the prices are various according to the improvements there may be upon it, its quality, and local situation ; the general price of land with some improvements is from 12s. to 15s. per acre. Plantations with orchards and other improvements, may be purchased from 1l. to 1l. 5s. per acre ; good land without improvements may be purchased from 1s. to 8s. per ditto, which price will be according to its rate or quality and situation.

Remember, I take notice only of the settled country, as I apprehend no European would be hardy enough to form a settlement in a wilderness, which will be left for the Americans,

cans, who, no doubt, from habit, are best qualified for that sort of business. Indeed there is a number of people who have so long been in the custom of removing, farther and farther back as the country becomes settled, for the sake of hunting, and what they call range for their cattle, which is that of their feeding upon the natural grass, that they seem unqualified for any other kind of life. This is favourable to the settling a wild and infant country; and no doubt this disposition will last (with some) as long as there is left a wilderness in America. It is however certain, this is advantageous to society which will be bettered, and not injured by these peculiar habits, so long as they have new countries to people: for, this adventurous spirit tends to accelerate the propagation of domestic animals of every sort.

Persons of moderate fortune, upon taking possession of the land they intend to form into a plantation, procure such stock as their circumstances and the extent of their object will admit of. Let us suppose an industrious man already provided with the necessary tools for his agricultural employment, and a little money to buy stock. In such a situation (after building his house in the manner I have mentioned, which will cost him little more than his labour) he should procure some dunghill fowls, a cow and a breeding sow. The fowls will

will produce eggs for his family, the cow milk and butter, if she is well taken care of; and the sow will produce two, if not three, litters of pigs within the year. These animals are very prolific in this climate and soil; and it is not a sanguine calculation to suppose the sow will have eight or ten pigs at each litter; by which means the family will have pork sufficient for the next year; and the year after they may barter bacon for beef and mutton, which I will conclude their circumstances have not permitted them, as yet, to purchase. His labour will have provided him with corn before this time, and in the extension of his plantation, and the increase of his cow and hogs his difficulties will be over, and a few years of industry and perseverance will make him a man of property. The increasing ratio of stock is prodigious, where provision for them costs so little as it does here, and where the fertility of the soil is so wonderful. His fowls will cost about three-pence each, his breeding-sow about five shillings, and his cow, if a very good one, of 4 cwt. and upwards, will cost him from thirty to forty shillings.

I have hitherto supposed this industrious man not in circumstances to enable him to use horses and plough, but obliged to hoe his corn; the only difficulty of which will be the preparing the ground for the seed. Accord-

ing to this imperfect cultivation I will conclude that his crop of corn will not be more than 30 bushels to the acre. Now an industrious man making a settlement in the autumn would be able to open three acres of land (in the manner I have related) before the time of planting, which will be in April or May; indeed, as late as June will answer; so that he may take advantage of this favourable circumstance, and, by planting at different periods, he will be better enabled to cultivate his crop, as it will not all require his attendance at the same time. Allowing half an acre for vegetables and pulse, and the yield of his labour will be 75 bushels of corn. Admitting then that he has a wife and two children, I will allow one half of this corn for their year's support, which, with the animal food his flock will afford him, and vegetables, will constitute a comfortable living. The other half he may sell, and purchase those artificial necessaries his family may want. The second autumn and winter he may open two acres more, and put the other three into better condition; one of which should be sown with flax or hemp-seed, in order to give employment to his wife, and to provide linen for domestic uses. His crop of corn, the second year, with the extended and improved cultivation, will not be short of 125 bushels. The surplus quantity of this year's crop will go a great way towards purchasing a horse and  
p'ough;



plough; and as the third crop will be more ample, he will then find himself comfortable and independent. I have all along supposed this farmer to have made prompt payment for every thing which he has wanted, which is seldom asked from an industrious man who is anxious to provide for his family. Such a man may not only have credit for horses and cattle, but even for the land; and, in a very little time, with industry, he may pay the whole off. I have taken no notice of the taxes which he will have to pay, as it is most likely they would not, altogether, amount to five shillings.

Provisions of every sort are both plenty and cheap in this country. Flour is from 6s. to 9s. per cwt. according to its quality. Indian corn is from 9d. to 1s. per bushel. Beef is from 1d. 1-2 to 2d. per lb. Veal, 2d. 1-2 per ditto. Mutton, 3d. ditto; which high price is owing to the general desire the farmers have to increase their stocks. Pork is from 2d. to 2d. 1-2 per lb. Bacon hams, from 4d. to 5d. 1-2. Salt beef, 2d. Hung or dried beef, 3d. Neat's tongues, 6d. each. Buffalo ditto, which are a most delicious morsel, 9d. Dunghill fowls, ducks, Muscovy ditto, geese, turkeys, Guinea fowls, and pigeons, are proportionally cheap. Butter is from 2d. 1-2 to 3d. 1-2 per lb. Cheese from 2d. to 3d. per ditto:

We have a variety of fish in our rivers: the most esteemed of which are the perch, trout, buffalo fish, and soft turtle. The perch is in size from 5 to 12lb. is firm and fat in its season, which is from February until July, and is equal to any salt water fish I ever tasted. The trout is caught from 8 to 30lb. weight. This fish is too universally known and admired to require any account of its excellence, particularly as the trout in England is said to be the exact miniature of ours. The buffalo fish is in size from 4 to 8lb. is a very fine fish, but inferior to the two former. But the soft turtle is, perhaps, the most delicious fish in the world, and amply compensates for our having no other testaceous fish. This turtle is gelatinous, except a small shell upon its back, about the bigness of the palm of the hand. The weight is from 6 to 10lb.

Most people make their own sugar; but when it is sold, the price is from 3d. to 4d. 1-2 per lb. according to its fineness. The business of sugar refining is only commencing, which makes it impossible to say exactly what will be the general price of loaf or refined sugar; but I conclude it will be proportionally low with raw sugar, as the business can be carried on in this country at less expence than in Philadelphia and York, where the price of the necessaries of life is so much higher. Tea, coffee, chocolate, and spices, are something higher.

higher here than in Philadelphia. Good green tea is from 5 to 8s. per lb. Imperial or gunpowder, 10s. 6d. Pearl and fouchong from 12 to 16s. Good fouchong from 4s. 6d. to 7s. per ditto. Bohea, from 2s. to 3s. 6d. Coffee, from 1s. 9d. to 2s. Chocolate, from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. Spices are mostly 25 per cent. higher than they are at Philadelphia or Baltimore.

I have entered into several minutiae, in order that you may have a more clear idea of the people and situation of this country. I have not aimed so much at being agreeable, as to convey information.

In a country in the zenith of the perfection of arts, and one just removing the shade of savage wildness, the contrast appears, I know, greater to an European than it really is. We have more of simplicity, and you more of art. We have more of nature, and you more of the world. Nature formed our features and intellects very much alike; but while you have metamorphosed the one, and contaminated the other, we preserve the natural symbols of both. You have more hypocrisy; we are sincere. You are more cunning and adroit, which your laws and habits have rendered part of your natures. We are not so stupid as not to see through the veil; but when an European does us the honour to visit us, we have both too much hospitality and suavity of manners to inform them they have neither sentiments nor religion. A few years residence with us teaches them  
that

that important truth, and self-conviction is always the most lasting.

However, a delineation of the laws, and substance of the opinions, which our new code will contain, will give you a better conception of our moral and political sentiments, and their probable duration; and with hopes that an early opportunity will present itself to forward my letter upon that subject, I shall take my leave of you for the present, my dear friend with wishing you every possible felicity. Fare well.

I am,

With the utmost regard and esteem,

Your's, &c.

LET

## L E T T E R    V I I I .

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OUR laws and government have for their basis the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. Liberty, security of person and property, resistance against oppression, doing whatever does not injure another, a right to concur, either personally or by our representatives in the formation of laws, and an equal chance of arriving to places of honour, reward, or employment, according to our virtues or talents, constitute those rights. These are the principles of our constitution; and laws grafted upon these simple but substantial principles, and a system of legal jurisprudence organized, and acting accordingly, form the essence of our government. Whenever the government swerves materially from these fundamental principles, the compact is dissolved, and things revert to a co-equal state. Thus, by this plain definition of the nature of laws and government, every capacity, and every individual of the community, can judge with precision



precision of the purity of legislation ; which produces the most entire conviction in the minds of all men, of the necessity there is of acting in every instance according to the code of reason and truth. Every man is equally concerned in the welfare and prosperity of his country ; his own felicity can only be co-existent with it ; and to suffer his ambition to run counter to the general weal would be madness in an enlightened commonwealth, as it could only tend to produce his own eternal disgrace or ruin, where the genius of freedom is enthroned in the heart of every citizen.

Europe has long been enslaved by forms and authorities ; and, while its multifarious laws and customs have served only to perplex professional men, the sophistry employed in expounding them has completely bewildered the imaginations of its citizens, and produced an obscurity of ideas upon the subject of jurisprudence and government, which is truly deplorable. There is an old adage which says, 'That too much learning makes a man a fool.' The pandects, and civil law, added to the barbarous codes of the ancestors of men in your hemisphere, have tended not a little to embarrass the minds of men ; for after a life devoted to the study and investigation of absurdity, the miserable student has generally found one foot in the grave before he has been  
able

able to discover the impossibility of obtaining the object of his pursuit.

Religion, or what you call an establishment, has had its share in rivetting the fetters of ignorance. The elucidation of truth has been retarded by the tyranny of the church; for while *priests have been the pedagogues of religion, morals, sentiments and politics*, their interested views have been the cause of their flattering that government, whose interest it was to keep the people ignorant, as it secured to them the undisturbed division of the spoils of the industry of the great bulk of your citizens, while they were offering an indignity as gross to the Deity as their system was unnatural and unjust. What can be a greater supererogation, than presuming to arraign or judge of the sentiments of men, the propriety of which are to be determined before a tribunal in heaven? It is an insult too gross to merit a comment. It has been subversive of all good morals, by affording a veil to cover the hypocrisy of the most designing knaves.

You must excuse this digression; I have made it for a subject of reflection for you, that your mind may be prepared to judge impartially of a system so very simple, as that upon which the fabric of our government acts. It was first necessary to shew the cause which has produced that mystery which you reverence as wisdom, but which is absolutely founded in per-

perplexity of opinion and ignorance ; or to give you a clue to reflections which would develop its fallacy.

Every man who is taxed or rated, has a vote in the appointment of the representatives of the State ; which consist of two houses, i. e. the house of delegates and the senate, who chuse a President, or Governor, for one year, which Governor chuses his own council to advise with him in all public matters. It is not immediately necessary that the legislature should approve of his appointments ; but to prevent the possibility of the exercise of prodigality and contumely, they have reserved to themselves the privilege of objecting to such characters for his advisers who have not the public approbation ; which has the good effect of producing harmony between the government and the people—of obliging men who aspire to the honours of their country to respect the public opinion ; and it prevents the prostitution of principle, by interdicting the pernicious consequences of favouritism ; while no ill can flow from this negative, as it is not to be presumed that the collected sentiments of a whole state can ever be prejudiced against an individual ; and it is impossible for the minds of the legislature to be warped against their President, without sufficient grounds. The very idea is a solecism in reason.

Mr.

Mr. Jefferson, speaking of the government of Virginia, complains, that the senate by its constitution is too homogenous with the house of delegates (our senate is elected and constituted in the same manner as the senate of Virginia), because they are chosen by the same electors, at the same time, and out of the same citizens; and therefore he says the choice falls upon the same description of men. It is not exactly thus, though it is liable to be so. The manner of nominating the representatives of every country should be as general as possible. Government is a compact entered into by every community for the security of the happiness and prosperity of the State; every member of which is one of the aggregate body of that State; therefore laws ought to emanate from the sentiments of the people.

The wisdom of having two houses of representatives is, that they may be a mutual check upon each other; and it is expected that the experience and collected wisdom of the senate, who are a less active body than the house of delegates, will more maturely weigh the probable consequences of any act, and prevent, by their suspension, any pernicious effects which might result from its passing into a law; or, by giving time to the house of assembly, they may correct their own errors.

If the senate has not always been chosen of men of the greatest experience, it has no doubt

originated from the ignorance of its political institution ; but that is no argument against the policy of the system. It requires time for every government to acquire its proper tone, and the people must become familiar with that tone, before they can make a proper use of the instrument. At any rate, Mr. Jefferson's opinion appears to me premature ; for if it is necessary to have two houses of representatives, clearly they ought to be elected by the people. As to their being elected at the same time, and from the same description of men, this can signify very little, as it adds to the number of representatives, and consequently there is a more general consent to the legislation. However, our senate will be chosen for three years, and the house of delegates will be elected annually ; and it appears to me, that the people will not only soon discover the object of its political institution, but will carry it into effect. They have only to discover the wisdom of chusing men of experience for the senate, to make it a general practice ; and it most certainly is better to have the system thus open, than by confining the eligibility of a senator to the restriction of a particular age, as that would not only be an incroachment upon the liberties of the citizens, but it would frequently deprive us of the exercise of useful and splendid talents, which might have an opportunity of obtaining a seat



in the senate, when he could not in the house of delegates by consequence of the greater popularity of the delegates of the district or county to which he might belong.

The President of the State is chosen annually, and eligible for three successive years ; after which he must remain out of office three years before he can become again eligible. He has a negative voice upon all acts, in consequence of which every usurpation is prevented from being surreptitiously practised upon the people by the two houses of assembly ; and thus a check is given to any inconsiderate step or impetuosity of the legislature, until the sense of the people can be made known, and measures taken accordingly. The President is besides, the guardian of the police of the state, has the power with the advice of his council, to pardon criminals, and by proclamation governs or corrects the influence of all extraneous cases.

Such is the organization of our legislative power, which originated from a convention of the people, and may be altered, improved, or amended, by another convention of the same kind, whenever its practice proves its imperfection or deficiency. Thus it is, that in the progression of philosophy and politics, as well as in arts, and the appropriation of experimental truths, the perfection of government is to be ascertained.

All the powers of government revert to the people, and they ought to revert to them. The judiciary having been reserved to them through the medium of juries. The legislative they intrust to their representatives who are essentially the same; and the executive emanates from the legislature, so that the whole are ultimately responsible to the people. The executive to the representatives, and the representatives to their constituents.

Such is the influence of education and habit that Mr. Jefferson, who has given every possible proof of his attachment to liberty, although educated when aristocratical opinions were common, says this is "precisely the definition of despotic government," and he adds, "that it can prove no alleviation that the powers will be exercised by a plurality of hands and not by a single one," and then he triumphantly begs, "those who doubt it, to turn their eyes on the Republic of Venice." When he wrote this part of his notes, he seems to have been of the opinion of Mr. Burke (whose paradoxical book has found its way out here), when he remarked "that government was a contrivance of human wisdom." Otherwise I am at a loss to conceive how he could compare a government acting upon the unalienable privileges, and the light of reason, to a dark aristocracy which has rivetted upon the minds

minds of their citizens the most diabolical superstition, and who have no more chance of judging of the polity of their senate, than they have capacity : but spread the rays of philosophy and truth among the Venetians, and then, if their tyrants practise the same despotism with impunity, I will allow that Mr. Jefferson's parallel is just. Yet such arguments would deserve nothing but contempt, were not their author respectable for his cardinal virtues, as well as for the career he bore in the glorious struggles for American independence. However it is a lamentable consideration that men of talents and genius, who have acquired celebrity among the friends of freedom, should, by vainly circulating their crude sentiments, retard the progress of reason.

What mystery can there be either in politics or religion? Laws founded upon the rights of men, and executed with precision, of which every capacity is adequate to judge, constitute the perfection of the science of government. It is the creation of a distinction of powers, with views to interest, which infallibly leads to the obscurity of the human mind ; a distinction to be avoided as much as possible, for the purpose of leaving in the hands of the people or their agents the whole powers of government. What fear of a bad administration is to be apprehended, when it is the interest of every individual to continue the guardian of his country's

try's prosperity? It is promoting a distinction where there is none; and by creating a jealousy of power, a real and growing evil is produced, when the danger was only imaginary. What interest, but that of the public, can a legislature have in making the executive part of the government responsible to them? What possible danger or inconvenience can flow from such responsibility in an enlightened State? The maxims of reason and ignorance are different.

The idea which Mr. Jefferson makes use of in another part of his book, that the Assembly may assume "all the powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, and that these may come to the smallest rag of delegation", is perfectly nugatory. The judiciary power the people never parted with entirely, and the executive by the agents of the representatives, qualified to judge of the laws and nature of our particular constitution, is not only a custom, but forms a part of the government. It is one of the springs by which the harmony of the system is preserved; and should it at any time be destroyed, it is the people who are to rectify the abuse. They are the potential fountain of all power; and it is only necessary for them and their agents to know this, in order to prevent every danger of the wheels of government being clogged and impeded by the

the destruction of any one of its essential springs.

The legislature is not only unqualified for a tribunal to judge of its own laws from the plurality of its numbers, but it is impossible that it could have any object of tyranny in view, when men are familiar with their own rights; and I beg to know what motive, in common sense, could suggest the idea, of embarrassing government by mutilating one of its branches? Or is it possible that Mr. Jefferson, when he said under this system, the Assembly might 'assume all the powers of government,' could mean, that as the executive power emanated from the legislature, it was liable to be suborned, or under the controul of the representatives of the State? This idea appears indeed too childish ever to have entered into the head of even an indifferent statesman: the executive agents of a government being independent in their appointments of every power; but the laws, are no more liable to be controuled by the legislature, than by any other power which might appoint them.

Kentucky is divided into counties in like manner as the other States, which are similar to the counties in England. It has been the crude practice hitherto, that each county should have two delegates and one senator to represent them, without any regard to the number of suffrages they contained. This imper-



imperfect system will be changed by our amended plan as soon as it can be finished, and a *census* taken of the inhabitants; and every county will then have its number of representatives in proportion to its population—which seems to be the only consistent delegation—However our old system as yet has not produced any bad effects; and as the fluctuations of the populations of the counties were very great, perhaps an attempt at a more exact equality would have been premature.

It is when the local interest of a State becomes different or various, that this partial representation is liable to abuse of privileges; but, for that reason it ought to be remedied in every State as early as possible.

In every county, magistrates or justices of the peace are appointed by the people, but commissioned by the Governor or President; they act without reward. Their number is in proportion to the population of their district, and they are nominated from time to time as the inhabitants increase, or a vacancy happens from death or any other cause; or as their ministry may be required. The most discreet and respectable men for integrity and knowledge are promoted to this office.

If it should happen that an ignorant person were to acquire popularity sufficient to secure his nomination to the office of a justice of the peace, the Governor is not obliged to commis-

for

ion him: thus if the people should be ignorant, they are obliged to stand upon their guard, and from this vigilance springs the activity of investigation.

These magistrates have jurisdiction both criminal and civil. If the question be of law only, they decide on it themselves; but if it be of fact, or fact and law combined, it must be referred to a jury; the jurors decide the fact, and refer the law arising on it to the decision of the judges. However, this division of the subject lies with their discretion only; and if the question relate to a point of public liberty, or if the judges are suspected of partiality, the jury undertake to decide both law and fact, which obliges judges to be regular, prompt, and just.

When laws are simple and understood, it is certainly better to leave the decision of a legal question to twelve upright men, than to the arbitrary fiat of interested or prejudiced judges. But it is by this poise, or balance of power, between the jurors and judges, that fair and equitable administration is secured.

The judges execute their process by the sheriff, or by constables. If any person commit an offence against the State, if it be below the degree of felony, he is bound by a magistrate to appear before their Court to answer it on indictment or information. If the offence amount to felony, he is committed to prison, a  
court

court of magistrates is called, and if on examination they find him guilty, he is sent to the general court prison, before which court he is to be tried by a jury of twenty-four, thirteen of whom must concur in opinion: if they find him guilty he is then tried by a jury of twelve of his own county where he offended, and by their verdict (which must be unanimous) he is acquitted or condemned without appeal.—The Governor has the power to pardon, except in case of treason, in which case the right lies in the General Assembly. Such do we conceive to be the value of the life of every citizen, that we afford him every possible chance of proving his innocence.

In civil matters, if the value in dispute be less than twenty shillings, a single magistrate may try it in any time and place within his county, and may award execution on the goods of the party cast. If it be of that, or greater value, it must be determined before county court, when the quorum of the magistrates must be four at least; for which purpose, county courts must be holden some day in every month, in the court-house of the different counties. From these determinations, if the value be more than 10*l.* or concern the boundaries of land, there lies an appeal to one of the superior courts. It is optional with the party who brings the action, if the demand is  
above

above 10l. to bring it either in the county or general court.

We have two superior courts. The high court of chancery, and the general court.— Both receive appeals from the county courts, and also have original jurisdiction, where the value is above 10l. or where the dispute is concerning land. The high court of chancery is composed of three Judges; the general court of five. The chancery holds its sessions twice a year, at stated periods. The general court sessions are quarterly; twice a year for criminal and civil, and twice for criminal only. There is also a supreme court called the Court of Appeals, composed of the judges of the two superior courts, which assembles twice a year also at stated times, at the capital of the state. This court receives appeals in all cases from each of the superior courts, and determines them finally. This court has no original jurisdiction. Thus far we have followed the model and practice of Virginia. We have no court of admiralty, nor have we completed our system of jurisprudence; but I will endeavour to give you the outlines or principles which will constitute its basis.

The first object of every free government is security of person and property; which is called Freedom. Without such a preservation there can be no pure liberty. Under such a government, every citizen has a right to do whatever does not injure another. The hinge  
of

of security in a civilized state, is the security of property, but it is necessary that care should be taken not to endanger the liberty of even one of the citizens of the state. For the preservation of personal liberty some safeguard should be kept, provided by law, both upon the designing and unsuspecting, in order to avoid the great inconveniencies which have flowed from knavery and credulity, as well in most of the United States as in Europe. Prisons and dungeons have been perverted into both asylums for rapine and fraud, and into cells of solitary misery and wretchedness, which have in no degree checked the career of dissipation and prodigality, or produced more industry or care; and while the resentment of disappointed avarice has been glutted in the fury of revenge; the world has lost much of the talents and ingenuity of some of its most valuable citizens. Laws should be calculated to prevent distress from intemperance and folly, and the commission of crimes as much as possible.—Creditors ought to be made cautious in their security, and when they have trusted beyond a certain sum, or have not taken a proper precaution, they should be liable to lose the debt. This would necessarily make the parties prudent, and so far from being injurious to trade it would prevent many inconveniencies which result from hasty dealings and insufficient security. Habit and custom act as powerfully



in business as in any thing else. Men would soon acquire this sure way of dealing, and thereby their property would be preserved, and the liberty and talents of every citizen made useful to the state. Every man who lives within his income, and makes prompt payment for what he purchases, is known to be a more valuable member of society than a man who is irregular and uncertain in his payments; and it is the rapid circulation of money in the common affairs of life, which tends to lower the price of its necessities as effectually, as the frequent returns in commerce tend to accumulate the capital employed. Laws may be made of this sort, I am sure, to regulate the transactions of men, without injuring commerce in the least; on the contrary it would render it more profitable, vigorous, and extensive. Liberty, and the rights of men have been shamefully profaned under the crude idea of the aggrandisement of commerce. The fallacy of old errors will moulder away under the radiance of philosophy, and man must look back with indignation at the sacrilege which has sullied his rank and dignity as a human being. Examine the catalogue of the poor and unfortunate debtors who have miserably endured the tortures of cold, hunger, and sickness, in a dungeon, lost to their family and friends, prevented from a possibility of obtaining the necessary means to cancel their

P

penal

penal obligations, and left to brood over the calamities to which the follies of a sanguine youth, bad education, and pernicious laws, have reduced them, and which had encouraged them in the career of vice, and punished them in the hour of despair and mortification; and you must be insensible indeed not to deprecate that degradation which indigested, inhuman, and impolitic institutions have produced in every part of the world. These are some of the sentiments of some of our legislators, and from such opinions, I flatter myself we shall afford testimony sufficient that prisons are unnecessary, except for homicides and traitors, who ought to be tried as immediately as the nature of the case would admit. It is the certainty of punishment, and the terror of instantly suffering, which deter men from the commission of those crimes where the conscience is concerned. It is our nature to look at every thing which is remote with indifference; but proximity excites some sensations of joy or fear in the hearts of the most callous.

It is a cruel mortification to the progeny or family of any man, who has disgraced his memory by murder, treason, or any other crime, against either the laws of God or the State; and it is a lamentable consideration in human affairs, that it should be necessary to make examples which are so degrading to the dignity of

of our natures. Should we then offer insult to misfortune, and reduce to beggary the innocent offspring or connections of an offending culprit? Surely not. The State is the tutelary guardian of its citizens, the protector of innocence, the promoter of felicity and prosperity, the avenger of wrongs; and not the spoiler of comfort, and the tyrant of humanity. For these reasons, neither murder, treason, or any other crime, ought to rob the family of the offender, by forfeiture of lands and goods to the State.

Malefactors, such as have been guilty of petty treason, manslaughter, sodomy, maiming, disfiguring, counterfeiting money, robbery, burglary, house-breaking, horse-stealing, grand larceny, petty-larceny, &c. &c. should be condemned to labour for the State during such a length of time as would be proportionable to the crimes they had committed, which should be defined by law; and in case it should be found from experience that this system did not tend to deter from the commission of crimes, and was productive of other bad effects, it would then be time enough to introduce more rigorous measures. It is however certain, that as yet the system in question has not had sufficient time to be experienced in its full effects in those States which have introduced it in part. But so far as a judgment can be formed, it is reasonable to expect the

most salutary consequences from such humane measures. Our criminal code will be established upon these lenient principles. Our laws respecting foreigners will be founded on the broad basis of hospitality, and the friendly principle that the world ought to be governed as one great family. Respecting marriage and succession, more conformably to the laws of nature than the laws of Europe, women are permitted to enjoy all the privileges, and all that protection, to which reason and delicacy entitle them. It is upon similar principles that property is distributed in an equal and consistent manner; and that a father is not suffered to disinherit a child, except he can make it appear, to a court of justice, that he is radically vicious; and even then, such a dereliction must be coerced with considerations pointed out by the law.

Such are the collected sentiments of the people upon the subject of law and government, and we have the satisfaction to know they are analogous to the opinions of a wise and judicious European author, whose virtues and superior good sense have given them a consequence in your own nation which does him the highest honour; and therefore I will quote from him to conclude this letter, which will shew that the sentiments of enlightened men, upon the subject of freedom and government, differ in no respect from the simple ideas of  
men

men who have no guide but reason and common sense.

“ The true interest of the people, then, is to be subject to a legislation, which, while it respects the enjoyments of the rights of mankind, is solely intent upon procuring it ; and which, faithful to the principles of an enlightened reason, seeks only the surest and simplest means of obtaining this end. Whatever be the form of government to which the people are subjected, a free commerce, an unrestrained industry, civil laws distinguished for their simplicity, criminal laws for their justice and humanity, founded upon the nature of man, and of society, and deduced from these principles by reason, ought to be every where the same.”——Farewell.

Yours, &c.



## L E T T E R IX.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAD the pleasure of receiving, within these two days, your favour, dated the 24th of August last, and admire the virtue and humanity of those of your citizens you mention to have left off the use of West India produce, in consequence of your parliament not having adopted any mode of effecting the abolition of the slave trade.

The little pamphlet you did me the favor to send with your packet, addressed to the people of Great Britain on that subject, with observations upon the situation of the unfortunate Africans enslaved, contains the purest sentiments of benevolence, and the most rational ideas, and it is written with a precision which does the highest honour to the author's head, as well as to his heart.

We have disgraced the fair face of humanity, and trampled upon the sacred privileges of man, at the very moment that we were exclaiming against the tyranny of your ministry; but in contending for the birthright of freedom,

dom, we have learned to feel for the bondage of others; and, in the libations we offer to the bright goddess of liberty, we contemplate an emancipation of the slaves of this country, as honourable to themselves as it will be glorious to us.

I have been ashamed, in reading Mr. Jefferson's book, to see, from one of the most enlightened and benevolent of my countrymen, the disgraceful prejudices he entertains against the unfortunate negroes. But if he has given Europeans a flagrant proof of his prejudices, he has afforded common sense an opportunity of judging from his paradoxes, that such cannot be the general sentiments of the people of America.

In the revision of a code of laws proposed for the State of Virginia, it was recommended to emancipate all slaves born after passing the act, who were to be brought up, at the public expence, to different vocations, until females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age; when they should be colonized to such place as circumstances should render most proper, giving them arms, implements, &c. &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them their alliance and protection, until they should have acquired strength and power equal to self-protection.

Con.

Concerning which measure, Mr. Jefferson says, "It will probably be asked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks?" He then attempts to give reasons to prove why it would be impolitic; by alledging that the deep-rooted prejudices of the whites, and the recollection of past injuries by the blacks, would be productive of continual feuds, which would probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race.

To such objections, which he calls political, he says, "May be added others, which are moral and physical." I will observe upon his *political* opinions first. The great charge such a business would be to that State, would necessarily tend to procrastinate its execution, and perhaps render abortive the whole design, by making it necessary to relinquish an object which the finances of the government would not admit of being carried into execution; and thus a most odious tyranny would be prolonged. Besides, what could be so impolitic, in such a country as Virginia, as banishing a numerous class of men who might be made useful citizens, risking a depopulation of one colour, in order to supply their places with another; an undertaking which, independant of the great expence it would be attended with, would also prove surrounded by many other difficulties. From what country is the vacancy to be filled? Emigrations have been frequent

quent from Europe to America; but it would require a length of time to recruit 250,000 inhabitants, which, I suppose, is nearly the amount of the slaves of Virginia.

There are in politics, as well as in physic, cases which require irregular prescriptions.—There is no law in nature which bends one man to another; and laws which are not founded in the principles of reason and truth, invalidate themselves. There is no statute which gives power to a white man to exercise despotism over a man because he is black. It is contrary to our bill of rights, as well as repugnant to the code of nature. But the mischief lies in the prejudices of the times. A complete emancipation, perhaps, would not be borne in Virginia; for which reason it must be gradual, as it has been in Pennsylvania. It would therefore be wise in that state to attach their slaves to the land of their respective masters for a certain term of years; after which they should be at liberty to change their situations, as their circumstances or pleasure would direct, the same as any other tenants.

Such a system, under salutary regulations, would not only afford the negroes a considerable proportion of freedom, but would be highly advantageous to the State; as, by parcelling out their immense waste tracts of land into little farms, the low country, which has been impoverished by the pernicious cultivation of tobacco

tobacco, would become fertilized, and restored to its pristine fecundity.

Let us suppose the present slaves of Virginia placed in such a situation for their lives; and that all blacks, born after passing an act for this purpose, should be free at twenty-five years of age. This would afford time not only to put these little farms in order, but it would reclaim the exhausted land, leave the proprietors in a better situation than they otherwise would have been in from a system which encourages indolence, promotes ignorance, tyranny, and every radical vice; but the blacks, by liberal conditions upon such a plan, with industry, might be able to educate their children, and accumulate a small property to encourage and support their liberty and independence, and the State would have time to acquire white emigrants, if the blacks did not answer the purposes of cultivation, and the end of the civil polity of an enlightened government; to suppose which would be as uncharitable as the remarks of Mr. Jefferson.

It will, doubtless, require a length of time to generalize marriages between the whites and blacks; but that would not prove a material disadvantage to the State. There would always be some whites who would marry blacks for the sake of property; and, no doubt, when prejudices are worn away, they would



would unite from more tender and delicate sentiments.

A judicious author of this country, who has written on the complexion and figure in the human species, has said : “ A nation which migrates to a different climate will, in time, be impressed with the characters of its new State : The dark colour of the natives of the West India islands is well known to approach very near to a dark copper. The descendants of the Spaniards in South America are already become copper-coloured. The Portuguese of Mitombo, in Sierra Leona, on the coast of Africa, have, by intermarrying with the natives, and by adopting their manners, become, in a few generations, perfectly assimilated in aspect, figure, and complexion.” And Lord Kaims, who cannot be suspected of partiality on this subject, says of another Portuguese settlement on the coast of Congo, “ That the descendants of those polished Europeans have become, both in their persons and in their manners, more like beasts than like men.—These examples tend to strengthen the inference from the changes that have happened in the Anglo-Americans ; and they shew how easily climate would assimilate foreigners to natives, in the course of time, if they would adopt the same manners, and equally expose themselves to its influence.”

Whether

Whether the black of negroes resides in the reticular membrane between the skin and scarf-skin, or in the scarf-skin itself——whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of some other secretion, the difference is not fixed in nature, but is the mere effect of climate, which is proved by the daily testimony of the most enlightened philosophers of the present age; who have for their support the observations and remarks of travellers upon the effects of climate in every part of the globe.

Mr. Jefferson says, it is fixed in nature; and asks “if the difference is of no real importance?” I answer, that it is of no real importance, when compared with the object of rescuing some millions of miserable human beings from the odious prejudices which have degraded a whole race of men to the rank of beasts of burden, because they had the misfortune not to have the tinge of *red and white*.

Were a man, who, with all the ardour of a youthful passion, had just been gazing upon the fair bosom of a loved and beautiful mistress, and afterwards marked the contrast of that paradise of sublunary bliss, to the African or Indian hue, to exclaim in the terms which Mr. Jefferson has used, he might be judged excusable on account of the intoxication of his heated senses—But when a grave philosopher, who has passed the meridian of life, sits down  
to

to meliorate, by his writings and opinions, the condition of the slaves of his country, whose fetters have fixed an obliquity upon the virtue and humanity of the southern Americans, I confess it appears to me not a little jejune and inconsistent.

As to the whites being more elegantly formed, as asserted by Mr. Jefferson, I must confess that it has never appeared so to me. On the contrary, I have often observed in families which have been remarkable for feeding their blacks well, and treating them in other respects with humanity, that their negroes have been as finely formed as any whites I ever saw. Indeed my admiration has often been arrested in examining their proportion, muscular strength, and athletic powers.

If they secrete less by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a strong and disagreeable odour, it is also certain that white men, inhabiting southern climates, do the same, more than in northern latitudes : by which means an evaporation takes place from the whole surface of the body, which produces that degree of cold which is requisite to counteract the heat of the climate. As there is always a flow of bile proportionate to the degree of heat, the perspirable matter will be more or less saturated with that fluid which, from an antiseptic quality, produces that odour which is supposed to indicate an original difference ;

ference ; but which in reality may be discovered in a degree in all black haired people in all countries.

No doubt, too, much of that ardour is owing to their difference of living from that of the whites : for it is certain, that those negroes who are cleanly, and live in the manner of their masters, have less of it.

However, there can be no doubt but that the animal system may be so materially affected by climate, as to require a length of time to restore it to its pristine state ; and whether man was aboriginal to Asia, or whether every continent had its Adam, is of no consequence to the argument :—it is certain we are essentially the same in shape and intellect.

“ Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me,” says Mr. Jefferson, “ that in memory they are equal to the whites, in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigation of Euclid ; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this investigation ; we will consider them here on the same stage of the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be formed.”

Can any position be more puerile and inconsistent. “ We will consider them on the same

same stage of the whites, and then a comparison is not apocryphal." Now I beg to know what can be more uncertain and false than estimating or comparing the intellect or talents of two descriptions of men;—one *enslaved, degraded, and fettered in all their acts of volition without a vista, through which the rays of light and science could be shot to illumine their ignorant minds.* The other free, independent, and with the advantage of appropriating the reason and science which have been the result of the study and labours of the philosophers and sensible men for centuries back. If there have been some solitary instances where negroes have had the advantage of education, they have shewn that they are in no degree inferior to whites, though they have always had in this country the very great disadvantage of associating only with their ignorant countrymen, which not only prevents that polish so essential to arrest admiration, but which imperceptibly leads to servility from the prevalence of manners.

Mr. Jefferson's own arguments invalidate themselves. "Homer told us, he says, nearly 3000 years since,"

"Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day

"Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away."

Now it is most certain that the negroes in A-  
Q 2
merica



merica have not only been enslaved, but that they have existed under the most inhuman and nefarious tyranny, particularly in the southern States.

Baron de Tott, speaking of the ignorance of the Turks, who are also slaves, but whites, said "that it was with difficulty that he could make them comprehend how two triangles could be equal to one right one." But it is only necessary to prove the nullity of Mr. Jefferson's argument to copy his own reflection. He asks, "if the world has produced more than two poets acknowledged to be such by all nations? How many mathematicians, how many great inventors in arts and sciences had Europe, north of the Alps, when the Romans crossed those mountains?" and then he says, "it was sixteen centuries before a Newton could be formed." And after asking these questions, he absurdly expects that black poets and mathematicians are to spring up like mushrooms.

However, a black in New England has composed an ephemeris which I have seen, and which men conversant in the science of astronomy declare exhibits marks of acute reason and genius.

To contend, however, that the world has produced but two poets, is rather the assertion of a pedant than a philosopher; and to maintain that no persons read Milton and Shakespeare,

spear with delight, but Englishmen is not strictly just. For every man of taste and judgment who understands the English language to perfection, must read them and many other English poets with the most animated pleasure,—and if the *Jerusalem delivered*, the *Henriade*, and the *Lusiad*, have only been generally read by the countrymen of their respective authors, it is not because they have neither genius nor excellence, but because it has been more the system of Education in Europe to study the classics than the modern languages, which has given a predominant preference among the literati in every country to the Greek and Latin poet.

“Religion has produced a Phillis Whately; but it could not produce a poet,” is another of Mr. Jefferson’s dogmata. Phillis was brought from Africa to America, between seven and eight years of age, and without any assistance from a school education, and before she was fifteen years old wrote many of her poems.

This information is attested by her then master, John Wheatly, dated Boston, November 14, 1772, I will transcribe part of her Poem on Imagination, and leave you to judge whether it is poetical or not. It will afford you an opportunity, if you have never met with it, of estimating her genius and Mr. Jefferson’s judgment; and I think, without any disparagement to him, that, by comparison,

Phillis appears much the superior. Indeed, I should be glad to be informed what white upon this continent has written more beautiful lines.

“Imagination! who can sing thy force?  
 Or who describe the swiftness of thy course?  
 Soaring through air to find the bright abode,  
 Th’ imperial palace of the thund’ring God,  
 We on thy pinions can surpass the wind,  
 And leave the rolling universe behind:  
 From star to star the mental optics rove,  
 Measure the skies and range the realms above;  
 There in one view we grasp the mighty whole,  
 Or with new worlds amaze th’ unbounded soul.  
 Though winter frowns, to fancy’s raptur’d eyes  
 The fields may flourish, and gay scenes arise;  
 The frozen deeps may burst their iron bands,  
 And bid their waters murmur o’er the sands.  
 Fair Flora may resume her fragrant reign,  
 And with her flow’ry riches deck the plain;  
 Sylvanus may diffuse his honours round,  
 And all the forest may with leaves be crown’d:  
 Show’rs may descend, and dews their gems  
 disclose,  
 And nectar sparkle on the blooming rose.”

Mr. Jefferson has been equally severe upon Ignatius Sancho. But, as I have not the honour to be acquainted with Mr. Sancho’s writings, I shall conclude that the criticism is equally

qually marked with prejudice. His saying, "that Terence was a slave, but not black," is in contradistinction to the testimony of every other authority ; who all agree, that he was not only an African, but a Numidian, who are all known to be black.

But, to complete his paradoxes, Mr. Jefferson has remarked, "That the Indian with no advantage of education is eloquent and ingenious," without recollecting that the savage is free while the poor African is enslaved ; though he allows that servitude destroys half the worth of the human soul.

But to do justice to his candour and heart, I will give you his conclusion upon this subject : "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs, gives a loose to his worst of passions ; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with odious peculiarities."

After making several moral reflections upon the subject of slavery, he finishes with these emphatical words. "Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just :—that his justice cannot sleep so ever ; that,

confi-

considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The ALMIGHTY has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

You see, my dear friend, how powerful is the effect of habit and prejudice; that with ideas and principles founded in reason and truth, sufficient to demonstrate that slavery destroys the energy of the human mind, and with a heart which does honour to Mr. Jefferson as a man, his mind is so warped by education, and the habit of thinking, that he has attempted to make it appear that the African is a being between the human species and the oran-outang; and ridiculously suffered his imagination to be carried away with the idle tales of that animal's embracing the negro women, in preference to the females of its own species.

GREAT GOD! how long is the world to be tantalized with such paltry sophistry and nonsense! My pity and indignation has been alternately excited since I have been writing this letter. But, I hope those dazzling rays of philanthropy which gleam in the flattering account you have given me of the disposition of your countrymen, will give a stab to the principles of domestic tyranny, and fix an odium upon



upon those leachers of human blood, as flagrant as they are contemptible. Farewel. In the libations of this night, and appropriate hours of love and social pleasure, the object of using my feeble powers in attempting to alleviate the oppressions of the miserable in every part of the world, shall not be forgotten.

I remain, most affectionately,

Yours, &c.

L E T-

LETTER X.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR last favour gave me the most lively pleasure; but, I fear, you have been too sanguine in the expectation, that the degree of loss to the revenue in consequence of the increased number who have left off the use of sugar, will compel your parliament to abolish the slave trade upon the principle of policy.

No doubt but the system is impolitic under every consideration; but when a government acts more upon principles of patronage, than upon a wise and liberal policy, little is to be expected from opinions so vitiated and controuled by bad habits of thinking.

Ignorant minds are always the most incorrigible, and the devastations which folly and contumely have produced in its perseverance in error, shews in the strongest, of all possible light, the advantage of philosophy. While weak men dread what they call innovation, amendments will be very tardy; and until education with you is ameliorated, I expect  
your

your unnatural system of slavery, chartered companies, &c. &c; will be continued. However, an æra will arrive when States who are more wise than your nation appears to be in the appropriation of useful truths, will eclipse the brilliancy of your commerce, and then the spirit of a people renowned for their magnanimity will tear from the fair face of reason, the odious mask which has so long obscured her lustre.

It requires no oracular faculties to see that that period is rapidly advancing, and it is to be presumed that the most conceited and stubborn steward would take some precaution against the dangers of an impending hurricane.

Previous to your last request, I had interspersed in my different letters some account of the natural history of this country, and had referred you to Mr. Jefferson for more full information; but as it is always with the greatest pleasure I write to you, I shall give you such an account of it as the length of a letter and my knowledge of the subject will permit.

I am too proud to make any apology for being obliged to give you in many instances the popular names of our vegetables, &c. &c. for, I think, it is high time that the Linnæan designation was anglicised.

Linnæus had great merit as first nomenclator in the science of natural history, and no doubt did the world a great and essential good  
by

by preferring the Latin to the Swedish language for his purpose. But from the perfection which botany and natural history have attained, I think the object of simplifying, or rendering into English, the various terms in that science, highly worthy the attention of some enlightened philosopher.

True, the Latin has hitherto been the most general language in Europe among scientific men, and thus far the infancy of the study has been rapidly matured by the happy adoption. But the English language bids fair to supersede it, and when we take a view of the different parts of the globe which are settled by people who speak English, and compare it with the perfection which that language has arrived at, I think it seems probable that in the course of time it will become universal.

We have a variety of spontaneous kinds of grass, for many of which we have no name. I have spoken of the cane and its properties in a former letter, which the farmer may consider as a grass, since it will answer every purpose of grass to him. I have also mentioned our clover and rye-grass. Besides which, we have, of the grass kind, the pea-vine, which in a small degree resembles your pea-vine. It has the same kind of tendril, and runs up the cane, shrubs, and rye-grass, which frequently grows interspersed with it. Its blossoms are of a reddish hue, and it produces a small and imperfect

fect pea. In the very rich soil, it grows from three to five feet high ; but in general it does not exceed eighteen inches or two feet, and is not of so luxuriant a growth as the vine of the cultivated pea, but has much nearer resemblance to grass.

Our other principal sorts of natural grass are, the buffalo, orchard, spear, blue, and crab grasses. The buffalo grass is rather coarse, grows from nine to eighteen inches high, and is generally found most plentiful in a middling soil. It has a broad leaf, and seems unworthy of cultivation. The latter kinds generally spring up after the land has been cultivated, and form excellent pastures ; and are also capable of being made into hay, particularly the spear and blue grass.

Every part of the country abounds in a variety of natural flowers. The crocus, and a profusion of daisies, appear on the approach of spring, which are succeeded by the daffodil, jonquil, hyacinth, tulip, and a multitude of other flowers, such as heart's-ease, lillies, red and white, holly-hocks, pinks, golden rod, cowslips, May-flowers, jessamine, columbine, honey-suckles, rock honey-suckles, tuberose, ranunculas, marshmallows, violets, roses of different sorts, &c. &c.

Of herbs, &c. we have of the wild sort, marjoram, sun-dew, sage, thyme, Indian leaf, rosemary, angelica, fennel, lovage, mugwort,



ox-eye, mother-wort, feverfew, cat's-mint, penny-royal, rue, mint, yarrow, burnet, nettle, fanicle, rupture-wort, cudweed, white and black maiden-hair, colewort, ground-pine, tooth-wort, ground-ivy, lung-wort, mountain-polly, winter-green, hore-hound, ladies mantle, celadine, jew's-ear, horse-mint, liver-wort, water-creffes, scurvy-grass, mustard, hyssop, tansy, dock, asmart, glass-wort, hellebore, wolf's-bane, spikenard, &c. &c. &c.

You will observe, that we have adopted names which are common in Europe, and I presume that it is the affinity between your plants of the above names, and ours, which have produced these denominations. How far they are applicable, requires a better botanist to determine than I profess to be; and to relate their different minutiae, would be both tedious and unsatisfactory, as it is impossible to give a just idea of their comparative similarity by a description.

#### FARINACEOUS, LEGUMINOUS PLANTS, &c.

Indian corn	Zea mays
Wild oat	Zezenia aquatica
Wild rye	
Indian millet	Holcus laxus
Wild pea	Dolichus
Panic	Panicum

There are many of this species.

Lupine

Lupine	<i>Lupinus perennis</i>
Jerusalem artichoke	<i>Helianthus tuberosus</i>
Cymlings	<i>Cucurbita verrucosa</i>
Squashes	<i>Cucurbita melopepo</i>
Purslain	<i>Portulaca oleracea</i>
Lettuce	<i>Lactua virosa</i>

### FIBROUS PLANTS, &c.

Wild hemp	<i>Acnida cannabina</i>
Wild flax	<i>Linum Virginianum</i>
Wild hop	<i>Humulus cupulus.</i>

### ROOTS, &c.

Sarsaparilla	<i>Sarsaparillæ</i>
Indian physic	<i>Spiræi trifoliata</i>
Ipecacuanha	<i>Phychotria emetica</i>
Pleurisy root	<i>Asclepias decumbens</i>
Virginia snake root	<i>Aristolochia serpentaria</i>
Black snake root	<i>Actæa racemosa</i>
Seneca rattlesnake root	<i>Polygala senega</i> [ata
Valerian	<i>Valeriana locusta radi-</i>
Ginseng	<i>Phanax quinquefolium</i>
Cassava	<i>Jatropha urens</i>
Granadillas	<i>Passiflora incarnata</i>

### FRUITS, &c.

Mulberry	<i>Morus</i>
Green-river plumb	
Barren, or red plumb	
Cherokee plumb	<i>Prunus sylvestris fructu minori</i>
Wild cherry	<i>Prunus Virginiana</i>

Wild crab apple	<i>Pyrus coronaria</i>
Perfimmon	<i>Diospyros Virginiana.</i>

There are various kinds of grapes.

Scarlet strawberries	<i>Fragaria Virginiana</i>
Wortleberries	<i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i> [ <i>Jefferson.</i> ]

Wild gooseberries	<i>Ribes grossularia</i>
-------------------	--------------------------

Wild currants

Cranberries	<i>Vaccinium oxycoccos</i>
-------------	----------------------------

Black raspberries	<i>Rubus occidentalis</i>
-------------------	---------------------------

May-apple. This apple is produced from an annual plant which is among the first vegetables that come forward in the spring; it is about ten or twelve inches high, advancing rapidly to maturity, and the apple grows much in the manner of the potatoe seed, and is nearly of the same size. When ripe, it is of the colour of a pale orange. The pulp is of a succulent nature, without any seed, and its flavour very much like the pine apple. It is ripe early in June.

Acimene. This fruit grows upon a shrub, and is from four to five inches in length, and from one to one and a half in diameter. The pulp is sweet and tender. It ripens in July.

Peakimine. A species of plumb, nearly the size of the mogul plumb, but more delicious.

Papaw. This fruit grows upon a tree from twelve to twenty-six feet high. It is in shape more like a seed cucumber than any thing else.  
It

It is ripe about midsummer. Its pulp is yellow, and somewhat of the consistence of an indifferent melon, and its flavour very much like a custard, but it is too luscious to be agreeable; though, when boiled green, it is good eating.

### NUT TREES, &c.

Sealy bark hiccory	<i>Juglans alba corticæ squamosa</i> [ <i>Jefferson</i> .
Common hiccory	<i>Juglans alba fructu minore rancido</i> [ <i>Clayton</i> .

There are a variety of other kinds of hiccory which have not been designated.

Black walnut	<i>Juglans nigra</i>
White walnut	<i>Juglans alba</i>
Chestnut	<i>Fagus Pumila</i>
Hazle-nut	<i>Corylus avellana</i>

Besides the above, the Carolina ground-nut grows low down on the Mississippi, and the peccane in the Illinois, in the county of Cumberland, and every where near the mouth of the Ohio. It is about two-thirds of the size of an English walnut, and the shell smooth and tender. Mr. Jefferson has given it a designation which is equal in length to the name of a Spanish cavalier. He specifies it as the *juglans alba, foliolis lanceolatis, acuminatis, serratis, tomentosis, fructu minore, ovato, compresso, vix insculpto, dulci, putamine, tenerri-*mo.

Poke	<i>Phytolacca decandra</i>
Plane-tree	<i>Platanus occidentalis</i>
Lime-tree	<i>Zilia Americana</i>
Poplar	<i>Liriodendron talipifera</i>
Black poplar	<i>Populus nigra</i>
Red flowering maple	<i>Acer rubrum</i>
Umbrella tree	<i>Magnolia tripetala</i>
Buck-eye	<i>Æsculus</i>
Aspen	<i>Populus tremula</i>
Reed, or cane	<i>Arundo phragmitis</i>
Locust	<i>Robinia pseudo acacia</i>
Honey locust	<i>Gleditsia</i>
Barberry	<i>Berberis vulgaris</i>
Dog wood	<i>Cornus florida</i>
Snow-drop tree	<i>Chionanthus Virginia</i>
Holly	<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>
Swamp laurel	<i>Magnolia acuminata</i>
Portugal bay	<i>Laurus indica</i>
Catalpa	<i>Bignonia catalpa</i>
Wild pimento	<i>Laurus benzoin</i>
Red bud	<i>Cercis Canadensis</i>
Sassafras	<i>Laurus sassafras</i>
Common laurel of this country	Not classed
Cockspur	<i>Cratægus coccinea</i>
Red bay	<i>Laurus borbonia</i> [mum]
Dwarf rose bay	<i>Rhododendron maxi-</i>
Spindle tree	<i>Euonymus Europæus</i>
Evergreen spindle tree	<i>Euonymus Americanus</i>
Elder	<i>Sambucus nigra</i>
Candleberry myrtle	<i>Myrica cerifera</i>
	Sumach



Sumach	Rhus. Not classed
Cotton tree	Not classed
Satin-wood tree	Not classed
Coffee tree	Not classed
Dwarf laurel	Kalmia latifoliae
American aloe	Agave Virginica
Ivy	Hedera quinquefolia
Hemlock fir	Pinus Canadensis
Papaw	Annona triloba
Trumpet honey-suckle	Lonicera semper virens
Upright honey-suckle	Azalea nudiflora
Juniper	Juniperus Virginica
Grows only in the southern parts of the western country.	

Black oak	Quercus nigra
White oak	Quercus alba
Red oak	Quercus rubra
Willow oak	Quercus phellos
Chestnut oak	Quercus prinus [Lon.
Black-jack oak	Quercus aquatica [Clay-
Ground oak	Quercus pumila [Ditto.
Live oak	Quercus Virginiana [Miller.

The live oak grows only low down on the Mississippi, on this side of the mountain.

Sugar tree                      Acer saccharinum  
Which is the common name throughout this country for the sugar maple.

Beech	Fagus sylvatica
White ash	Fraxinus alba

Black

Black ash	Fraxinus nigra
Elm	Ulmus Americana
Slippery elm	Not classed
Sweet elm	Ulmus saccharina Ame- ricana
Button-wood tree	Not classed
Black birch	Betula nigra
White birch	Betula alba
Sweet gum	Liquidambar styraciflua
Pitch pine	Pinus tæda

Grows only on the southern branches of the Ohio, West Florida, and the mountainous parts of the country.

White pine	Pinus strobus
------------	---------------

Grows only in the mountainous country.

Yellow pine	Pinus Virginica
-------------	-----------------

Grows also in the mountains.

Spruce pine	Pinus foliis singularibus [Clayton.
-------------	--

Spruce pine grows mostly upon the precipices of river banks, upon the sides of high hills, and never in champaign country.

Cypress	Cypressus disticha
White cedar	Cypressus thyoides

The cypress and white cedar grow in abundance in the country contiguous to the gulf of Mexico, but in the country high up the rivers, very few of them are to be found.

The best soil produces very little timber but  
the

the locust, cherry, walnut, buck-eye, sugar-tree, elm, beech, ash, satin-wood, and papaw. The middle rate land oaks, hiccory, dogwood, some sugar-trees, and beech. What we call indifferent land affords mostly black and red oaks, some hiccory, gum, &c. and the more broken and hilly country (I mean the worst land,) black-jack oak, fir, &c.

There is a variety of shrubs in every part of the country, the principle of which are the myrtle and spice berry; and a number of different kinds of grass, &c. that I am unable to describe; for, indeed, they have not all obtained popular names, and I am too ignorant of botany, as I have confessed to attempt to class them; which, perhaps, is the finest field now open to a man of genius, in the science of botany, upon the face of the globe.

Buffon, Kalm, D'Abenton, Catesby, and Pennant, have all touched upon the natural history of America. The first and last have confined themselves chiefly to the description of animals; and as they are justly admired for their talents, I shall confine myself merely to giving you a list of the wild animals, which are common to the western country, and refer you to their works for the natural history. Such errors as Buffon had been drawn into by prejudice, Mr. Jefferson has ably confuted.

ANIMALS.	WHERE COMMON.
Buffalo. Bison	Between lat. 42 and 37
Moose elk. Elan original, palmated	To the north of lat. 43
Elk, round horned	Between lat. 40 and 36
Caribou. Renne	To the north of lat 43
Red deer. Crof.	To the south of lat 40
Roe. Chevreul	To the north of lat. 40
Fallow deer. Daim.	To the north of lat. 42
Bear. Ours	Every part of this coun:
Wild cat. Chat sauvage	Ditto
Wolf. Loup	Ditto
Glutton. Carcajou	To the north of lat. 42
Lynx. Loup cervier	To the south of lat. 40
Beaver. Castor	To the north of lat. 37
Otter. Loutre	Between lat. 45 and 36
Red fox. Renard	To the north of lat. 39
Grey fox. Ifatis	To the south of lat. 40
Hedge-hog. Herrison	To the north of lat 40
Martin. Marte	To the north of lat. 38
Weasel. Belitte	To the south of the lakes
Water rat. Rat d'eau	Between lat. 42 and 36
Monax. Marmotte	
Flying squirrel. Pala-touche	To the south of lat. 40
Fox squirrel	Between lat. 39 and 36
Black squirrel	Between lat. 39 and 42
Red squirrel	To the south of lat. 40
Great grey squirrel	To the north of lat. 38
Little grey squirrel	Between lat. 38 and 32
Ground squirrel	Between lat. 40 and 36
	Mink

ANIMALS.	WHERE COMMON.
Mink	To the south of lat. 44
Shrew mouse. Musa- raigne	To the south of lat. 43
Raccoon. Raton	To the south of the lakes as far as lat. 37
Opossum. Sarique	To the south of lat. 41
Vison. Fouine	
Seunk. Mouffette. Co- nepate	Between lat. 43 and 36
Congar	
Rabbit	Every part of this coun- try, but no where so numerous as on the other side of the mountain.—(N. B. There is not a wild hare in all America.)
Mouffette squash	Between lat. 43 and 36
Mouffette chinche	
Panther	To the north of lat. 33
Wood chuck	Between lat. 39 and 44
Porcupine	To the north of lat. 42
Dormouse	To the north of lat. 40

There are besides moles, mice, and bats, several other animals in the extreme parts of the country. I have omitted saying any thing respecting them, as I could not do it with sufficient accuracy; but you will find, in Mr. Jefferson's list of the aboriginal animals of America, an account of the whole of them.

I have already taken notice of the great bones which have been found in this country; but



but as I was not minute as to the estimate of their size, I shall just remark, that it was the opinion of your celebrated anatomist, the late Dr. Hunter, from an examination of the tusks, that the mammoth was an animal entirely different from the elephant; and Mr. Jefferson, who seems to have examined the skeleton with curious attention, says, "the bones bespeak an animal of five or six times the cubic volume of the elephant, as Mons. de Buffon has admitted." And I have been informed by a gentlemen who attended the lectures of Dr. Cline, in London, that this ingenious anatomist used to produce one of the tusks of the mammoth, when he was lecturing, and declared that the animal must have been' carnivorous.

In my account of the birds of this country, I shall mostly give you the Linnæan designation, in preference to Catesby's, though Catesby's designation is most general.

POPULAR NAMES. LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.

Bald eagle	Falco leucocephalus
Turkey buzzard	Vultur aura
Sparrow hawk	Falco sparverius
Forked tail hawk	Falco furcatus
Pigeon hawk	Falco columbarius
Fishing hawk	Accipiter piscatorius
Field martin	

POPULAR NAMES. LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.

Little owl	Strix asio
Tyrant martin or king bird	Lanius tyrannus
Perroquet	Psittacus
Red headed wood pecker	Picus erythrocephalus
Larger red crested ditto	Picus pileatus
White bill ditto	Picus principalis
Gold winged ditto	Picus auratus
Red bellied ditto	Picus Carolinus
Small spotted ditto	Picus pubescens
Yellow bellied ditto	Picus varius
Hairy ditto	Picus villosus

POPULAR NAMES. LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.

Blue jay	Corvus cristatus
Crow black bird	Gracula quiscal
Baltimore bird	Oriolis Baltimore
Bastard Baltimore ditto	Oriolis spurius
Carolina cuckoo	Cuculus Americanus
Field lark	
Red winged black bird	Sturnus niger alis super- nerubentibus ( <i>Catesby</i> ).
Robin red breast	Turdus migratorius
Red thrush	Turdus rufus
Mocking bird	Turdus minor cinerco albus non maculatus ( <i>Catesby</i> ).

POPULAR NAMES. LINNÆAN DESIGNA-  
TION.

Little thrush	<i>Turdus minimus</i> ( <i>Catesby</i> )
Purple finch	<i>Fringilli purpurea</i> ( <i>by</i> )
Lettuce bird	<i>Carduelis Americanus</i>
Cowpen bird	<i>Pafer. fuscus.</i> ( <i>Catesby</i> )
Little sparrow	<i>Paferculus</i> ( <i>Catesby</i> )
Towhe bird	<i>Fringilla erythroph-</i> <i>thalma</i>
Blue linnet	<i>Tanagra cyanea</i>
Painted finch	<i>Emberiza biris</i>
Rice bird	<i>Emberiza oryzivora</i>
Snow bird	<i>Emberiza hyemalis</i>
Red bird	<i>Loxia Cardinalis</i>
Blue gros beak	<i>Loxia Cærulea</i>
Crested fly catcher	<i>Muscicapa erinita</i>
Summer red bird	<i>Muscicapa rubra</i>
Red start	<i>Muscicapa ruticilla</i>
Cat bird	<i>Muscicapa Caroliniensis</i>
Black cap fly catcher	<i>Muscicapa nigrescens</i>
Little brown fly catcher	<i>Muscicapa fusca</i>
Red-eyed fly catcher	<i>Muscicapa oculis rubris</i>
Blue bird	<i>Motacilla fialis</i>
Wren	<i>Motacilla regulus</i>
Yellow crested chatter-	
er	<i>Motacilla trochilus</i>
Whip poor Will	<i>Caprimulgus minor A-</i> <i>mericanus</i> ( <i>Catesby</i> )
Great bat or goat sucker	<i>Caprimulgus</i> ( <i>Catesby</i> )
House martin	<i>Hirundo purpurea</i>
American swallow	<i>Hirundo pelagia</i>

POPULAR

## POPULAR NAMES. LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.

Yellow titmouse	Parus Carolinensis ( <i>Gatesby</i> .)
Yellowthroated creeper	Parus Americanus gut- ture luteo ( <i>Gatesby</i> .)
Hooded titmouse	Parus cucullo nigro
Yellow rump	Parus Virginianus
Finch creeper	Parus Americanus
Crested titmouse	Parus bicolor
Nut-thatch	Sitta caprite nigro ( <i>Gatesby</i> .)
Small nut-thatch	Sitta capite fusco ( <i>Ditto</i> .)
Humming bird	Trochilus colubris
Hanging bird	
Pine creeper	Certhia pinus
King fisher	Alcedo alcyon
Kildee	Charadrius vociferus
Soree	Rallus Virginianus
Ground dove	Columba passerina
Wild pigeon	Columba migratoria
Turtle dove	Columba Caroliniensis
Lark	Allauda Alpestris
Night hawk	
Cat owl	
Screech owl	Strix Americana ( <i>Booth</i> )
Crow	Corvus
Crane	Ardea Canadensis
Whet hawk	
Great grey eagle	
Feather head turkey	

POPULAR NAMES.	LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.
buzzard	
Large pouch pelican	
Raven	
House swallow	Hirundo rustica
	(Jefferson)
Ground swallow	Hirundo riparia (Ditto)
Cormorant	
Squatting snipe	
Whistling plover	
Woodcock or mud hen	
Yellow winged snipe	
Red bird with black wings	
Wagtail	
Wild goose	Anas canadensis
Buffel head duck	Anas bucephala
Small brown duck	Anas rustica
White face teal	Anas discors
Blue winged teal	
Green winged teal	
Summer duck	Anas sponfa
Blue winged shovler	Anas Americana cristata luselegans (Catesby.)
Round crested duck	Mergus cucullatus
Pied bill dopchick	Colymbus podiceps
Large crested heron	Ardea Herodias
Crested bittern	Ardea violacea
Blue heron	Ardea cærulea
Small bittern	Ardea virescens

Small



POPULAR NAMES.	LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.
Small white heron	<i>Ardea æquinoctialis</i>
Indian hen	<i>Ardea stellaris Americana</i> <i>Catesby.</i>
Wood pelican	<i>Tantalus loculator</i>
White curlew	<i>Tantalus alber</i>
Brown curlew	<i>Tantalus fuscus</i>

We have besides, the duck and mullard, widgeon, canvass back, wood duck, black duck, sprig tail, white head duck, black head duck, ballcoot, water pheasant, mow bird, blue peter, swan, loon, mountain pheasant or grouse, which I mentioned in a former letter, quail, wild turkey, &c. &c.

I have now, my dear friend, complied with your wish as far as it is in my power, a country so new and extensive requires more time, and more room than a letter will admit of to give you a complete idea of its natural history; but, I flatter myself, it will afford you a general idea upon the subject; and when the unfolding covers of a new creation just bursting from the womb of nature shall draw men of science, to trace and investigate the various phænomena which this country exhibits, I have no doubt but the world will receive much pleasure and instruction.

The moment I have been able to collect an accurate account of the present numbers of the

different tribes of Indians, which have hitherto been considerably exaggerated, I will write to you upon the subject. In the mean time I shall remain.

Your true and affectionate friend.

## L E T T E R XI.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU will, no doubt, have heard of the defeat of our army with the particulars, before this will reach you. It is surprising, that the experience of upwards of thirty years warfare with the Indians, should not have taught us before now, that our success or loss in these *rencontres*, was to be expected alone from the abilities or talents of the Commanding Officer.

From the time of the defeat of General Braddock to the present period, the Americans have been successful or unsuccessful in these expeditions, in the exact proportion to the knowledge which our Generals have had of Indian dexterity and stratagem.

No man is more willing to allow to General St. Clair the merit of being an accomplished gentleman, a brave and judicious officer, than I am. But I cannot help lamenting, at the same time, that men are not employed upon these occasions (when there are so many in the United States) who have from their infancy been accustomed to such perils, and practised  
in

in the necessary vigilance, to ward off the effects of that singular prowess of those heroic people.

There is an error somewhere. I am afraid that our General confided too much in the comparative strength and discipline of his army. It would have been better if he had recollected an expression of the late King of Prussia, "However well-founded any good opinion of ourselves may be, security in war is always dangerous; and rather than be negligent it is better to take superfluous precaution." Our army certainly was taken by surprise. They had not time to form when the enemy commenced their attack, which proves the justness of that great soldier's reflection.

Every man who engages in the perilous vocation of a soldier ought to recollect beforehand, the sacrifices he will be obliged to make of pleasurable indulgence, and in many instances of his constitution. But when a service of danger calls him to the defence of his country, or to avenge the insults which tyranny or barbarism have offered, it becomes ignominious not cheerfully to forego every gratification which is incompatible with heroism. It is equally ignominious to put any consideration in competition with the certainty of success.

I know that it has been much the case with us to relax in discipline for fear of harassing  
our

our men. In Indian wars it is necessary to observe this rule, which infallibly leads to victory when the combat otherwise is upon an equal footing—Never be surpris'd. To prevent which, it is only necessary to move with strong and active flanks, to keep powerful and vigilant guards, and to have your whole army under arms every morning at least an hour before break of day ; which will effectually prevent a surpris'e, as the Indians never attack when their enemy is in force during the night. Move in compact order, and, though you may be harrassed in a degree, yet with an army of two thousand men well appointed, it would be no difficult matter to pass through the whole western country.

I hope I have not been too strenuous in endeavouring to wipe away the stain, which our recent defeat has brought upon the valour of my countrymen. There has appeared a languor in the execution of our measures respecting Indian affairs, which has not only brought an *obloquy* upon the wisdom of our councils, but has subjected us to losses which are as baneful to our population, as they are affecting to our sympathy.

Many of us have cause to mourn the loss of some friend or dear relation. Among the slain was a youth of the most promising hopes and splendid talents—talents which might have  
proved



proved ornamental to his country and useful to mankind.

I know you will excuse me for appropriating to the death of my young friend, with a slight alteration, those beautiful lines in the Iliad with which Homer describes the death of Euphorbus,

“ As the young Olive, in some Silvan scene,  
Crown'd by fresh fountains with eternal green,  
Lifts the gay head in snowy flow'rets fair  
And plays and dances to the gentle air.  
When lo ! a whirlwind from high heav'n invades  
The tender plant, and withers all its shades ;  
It lies uprooted from its genial bed,  
A lovely ruin now defaced and dead.  
Thus young, thus beautiful, “ brave Marshal” lay,  
While the fierce “ Indian tore his life away.”

The expedition conducted under the command of General Scott terminated with success ; indeed from the first settlement of Kentucky not one of our expeditions have failed. The watchful Indians who are always near us, and scarcely ever to be discovered but in force, observe the motions of our army, and readily determine from our vigilance whether an attack will prove hazardous to them or not.

I shall begin my enumeration with the southern Indians, and proceed with those of the greatest proximity ; taking care to comprehend in the schedule the various tribes which we have any distinct knowledge of to the north-

northward of the chain of lakes which bounds our empire to the north, and those to the west of the Mississippi, and south of the Missouri.

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Cherokees	In the country between the great bend of the Tenasee and the ridges of hills, (which are called the Allegany mountains) the western limits of Georgia, and the eastern branches of the Mobile	2500
Chacktaws	Between the said great bend, the Mississippi and Natchez	6000
Upper Creeks	Between the head branches of the river Apalachies, East Florida, the Cherokee nation, and the Mississippi	2500
Lower Creeks	Between the Upper Creeks and the gulf of Mexico	1000
Natchez	A little to the east of the Natchez	100
	Alibamons	

TRIBES;	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Alibamons	Between the Natchez and New Orleans	400
Chekafaws	Between the southern limits of Cumberland, the Chacktaw nation, and the head waters of the Mobile.	500
Lezars	Between the mouth of the Ohio and Wabash	300
Piankishas, Vermilions, and Mascontins.	Between the Wabash and Illinois	600
Illinois	Near Cahokia	260
Kaskaskias	Near Kaskaskia	250
Pianrias	Upon the Illinois river	400
Shakies	Near fort Oniatonon upon the Wabash	170
Upper Piankishas	Near fort Oniatonon upon the Wabash	300
Ouitatonons	Near fort Oniatonon upon the Wabash	260
Miamis	Near fort St. Joseph	200
Twigtwees	Upon the great Miami river near fort Miami	200
Wyandots	Between fort St. Joseph and Detroit	200
Cohunewagas	Near Sandusky	200
Mingoes	On a southern branch of the Sciota	50
	Mohiccons	

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Mohiccons	Between the Sciota and Muskingum	40
Shawnees	On the head branches of the Sciota, (reduced by the late action to less than)	250
Delawares	In the country between lake Erie and the head branches of the Muskingum, who have also suffered in the late different actions, and it is supposed they are reduced from 600 to	450
Delawares, or Lin-At nelinopies	At different villages upon the north branch of the Susquehanna	400
Aughquagahs	Upon an eastern branch of the Susquehanna	150
Nanticocs	Between Owegy and the most eastern branch of the Susquehanna	80
Mohiccons	Between Chagnet and Owegy upon a branch of the Susquehanna	70
Conoies	Between Utsanango and Chagnet, to the eastward of the most east- T	ermost

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
	ermost branch of the Susquehanna	40
Saponies	Upon a north branch of the Susquehanna	30
Munfies	At Diahago, upon the north branch of the Susquehanna	120
Senecas	Upon the waters of the Ohio, lake Erie, lake Ontario, and Susque- hanna	550
Cayugas	Upon the Cayuga, and near the north branch of the Sus- quehanna	180
Onondagoes	Near Onondago	200
Oneidas	On the east side of O- neida, and head branches of the Sus- quehanna	250
Tuscaroras	Between the Oneidas and Onondagoes	170
Mohocks	Upon the western branch of Mohock river	140
(The last-mentioned six tribes constitute what are known by the name of the six Nations.)		
Orondocs	Near the three rivers	100
Abenakies	Near the three rivers	150
Little Algonkins	Near the three rivers	100
		Pou-



TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Poteoutamies	Between St. Joseph's and Detroit	270
Ottawas	Near Detroit	500
Chippawas	On Saguinam bay of lake Huron	200
Ottawas (a differ- ent tribe)	On Saguinam bay of lake Huron	150
Chippawas (seve- ral tribes of)	Near Michillimackinac fort St. Mary's on lake Superior, and upon the southern shores of that lake	5500
Shakies	Pauns bay, on lake Michigan	400
Mynomamies	Near Pauns bay, on lake Michigan	300
Ouisconsings	Ouisconsing river	300
Kickapous	Upon the southern head branches of the Mississippi, and the waters of lake Mi- chigan	200
Otogamies	Between the lake of the Wood and Mississip- pi	300
Mascoutens	On lake Michigan and between that and the Mississippi	400
Miscothins	Between lake Michigan and the Mississippi	340
	T 2	Ou-

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Outimacs	Between lake Michigan and lake St. Clare	200
Musquakies	Upon the southern waters of lake Michigan	200
Sioux	On the eastern head branches of the Mississippi, and the islands of lake Superior	500
Ottagaumies	On the head waters of the Mississippi	300
Winnibagces	On the head waters of the Mississippi	200
Killistinoes	On lake Superior	250
Naudowesies	Between Michigan and lake Superior	500
Osevegatchies	Near Swagatchy, on the river St. Lawrence	100
Connasedagoes	Near Montreal	90
Cohunnewagoes	Near Montreal	150
Michmacs	On the river St. Lawrence	50
Ameliftis	On the river St. Lawrence	400
Chalas	On the river St. Lawrence	100
Nipissins	Near the head waters of	of

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
	of the Ottawas ri- vers	300
Algonquins	Towards the head wa- ters of the Ottawas river	250
Round-heads	On riviere aux Tetes boules, or Round- head river	2000
Messasagues	Between lake Superior and lake Huron	1500
Kois	Upon lake Christineaux	1200
Affinaboos	Lake Affinaboos	1200
Barbus, or Blancs	Between lake Affina- boos and the lake of the Wood-	1400
Sioux of the Meadows	On the head and west- ern branches of the Mississippi	2500
Sioux of the Woods	On the head and west- ern branches of the Mississippi	4000
Sioux	Between the head wa- ters of the Mississip- pi and Missouri	3000
Ajoues	North of the Padoucas	1000
White Panis	South-east of the Mi- ssouri	1500
Speckled Panis	South of the Missouri	1200
Padoucas	South of the Missouri	500
Grandesaux	South of the Missouri	800

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Canfes	South of the Mifouri	1000
Ofages	South of the Mifouri	400
Mifouris	On the Mifouri	1500
Arkanzas	On the river Arkanzas	1000

There are feveral other tribes, known by the name of Caonitas, Linways, Webings, Oufafays, Les Pauns, Folle Avoine, Mineamis, &c. &c. But the different tribes have been fo confounded one with another, that it is impoffible to collect any diftinct information refpecting their fituation or numbers; which I apprehend has proceeded from the imperfect knowledge travellers have had of the weft of the Miffiffippi, and to the north of lake Michigan and lake Superior; and which has precluded the poffibility of gaining any accurate intelligence from them. However the above lift has been corrected from the accounts of Croghan, Boquet, Carver, Hutchins, and Dodge, and by the comparative testimony of the beft informed men I have been able to meet with; and whole knowledge upon this fubject, though they have not written, I fhould prefer to either of the above authorities, who were obliged to take the greateft part of what they have related, from hearfay, or proceed upon conjecture.

There are feveral vagrant tribes, called Chikaneflou, Onanakina, Machecous, and Soukillas, from the Cherokees, Chacktaws and Creeks;

Creeks ; but I should suppose, these included, that my account of those tribes is tolerably exact.

By this list, which I presume will appear as accurate as the subject will admit of, the aggregate number of Indians will be found less than 60,000 who inhabit the country from the gulf of Mexico, on both sides of the Mississippi, to the gulf of St. Lawrence, and as far west as the country has been explored, that is, to the head waters of the Mississippi, and from thence to the Missouri (I do not mean the head of it,) and between that river and Santa Fè.

I have been able to learn very little information respecting the Indians between Santa Fè and the gulf of Mexico, and still less of those who inhabit the country between the river St. Joseph's and California. However we are in no way affected by them at present ; and it is not very likely that we ever shall : for, it is to be presumed, that the federal government, in the extension of its empire, will take such precautions as must prevent the horrors of such sanguinary warfare and massacre, as have hitherto marked the progress of its growth.

Certainly it is time that decided measures were taken ; if possible, to civilize them ; and if not, to confine them to particular districts ; that is, by the vigour of our measures, to shew them that we are not to be trifled with ; and whenever a tract of country is to be settled,

let



let the demarkation be obvious, and the terms of settlement definitive ; and by affording protection to the pacific, and chastising the licentious, it may be expected in time, that some amelioration will take place in their savage and sanguinary dispositions.

You will observe that the most numerous tribes are the greatest distance from us ; and it is very certain, that in proportion to their distance from the whites, they are unacquainted with the use of fire-arms. All the nations north of lake Superior, and those beyond the Mississippi, as well as those on the Missouri, use only bows and arrows ; so that when you take a view of their scattered situation, the various customs and superstitions which it is necessary to reconcile, in order to produce perseverance and unity of action, and what a small proportion of them have the apparatus, or understand the use of musquetry, or possess resources sufficient to enable them to carry on lasting hostilities against the power of our increasing numbers, it must be obvious, that even our defeats will hasten their ruin.

Though we (or rather the federal troops) have been defeated several times, yet we shall soon establish a permanent security against savage invasions and massacre ; for, though we have not acted entirely like Hercules, who destroyed the serpents while an infant in his

cradle,

cradle, still, I presume, we shall do it in our approach to maturity.

The French, by conciliating the manners of the savages, and by their diffusing a more general knowledge among them of the use of fire-arms, first rendered them formidable to the whites. The animosity continued to exist until the commencement of the late war, *when that very policy was practised by the English, which they had formerly so severely reprobated in the French.*

In the various skirmishes and actions which have been fought between us, they have acquired a most wonderful dexterity and heroic intrepidity; but, in these acquisitions, they probably have laid the foundation of their own *extinction*; for our defeats but add to our strength; and when you recollect their comparative numbers with ours, and the comparative fecundity of our women, I think the circumstance does not appear problematical.

However, that is not our wish. We would gladly teach them the blessings of peace; and so far did the Assembly of Virginia carry this disposition, in the year 1784, that, the more effectually to accelerate so desirable an end, they took it into consideration to pass an act offering bounties to such men and women as would inter-marry with the Indians. But as the animosities which then existed between them and the back settlers had arisen to such a height,

height, it was thought most adviseable to postpone until there should be a stable peace, and till the whites and they were reconciled ; but that will never be the case until we are in possession of Niagara and Detroit. Farewell.

F I N I S.

## NOTES TO VOLUME I.

✱ *THE following Notes were interspersed throughout the Work ; but the Printer, for the Convenience of the Reader, thought proper to collect them together at the End of the Volume. with Directions to whatever Part of the Work they refer.*

<sup>a</sup> page 33, line 10, after the word *it*—This river is about 250 yards wide at its mouth, and is navigable for upwards of 130 miles ; its current is considerably rapid.

<sup>b</sup> page 35, line 13, after the word *same*—At this time, what was called Continental Currency, was reduced to as low a rate as 500 for one ; nay, I believe 1000 was a more common exchange. This circumstance, though it had its good effects, so far as it tended to accelerate the settlement of the country, still was productive of no small degree of evil and injustice. For in consequence of the great quantity of this money, which lay dead in the hands of individuals, it was no sooner known in the different states, that Virginia held out an opportunity to them of obtaining a consideration for this depreciated currency, than it was sent to the treasury of that state in such quantities, and given for land warrants, that in a short time more of them were issued than would have covered half the territory within its limits.

Previous

Previous to this æra, great part of the valuable land in the district of Kentucky, had been either taken up on old military grants, and pre-emption rights, or located by those who had been first in obtaining their warrants; for it required some time for the business to extend itself, and become generally known and understood.

In consequence, a large proportion of the holders of treasury warrants were disappointed, when they determined, if they could not obtain prime land, they would lay their warrants upon such as was vacant, however steril, which doubtless was proper; for tho' the warrants had cost them only a nominal value, nor was the state of Virginia sensible of the dangerous avenue they were opening to fraudulent practices, yet it was possible, in an extensive tract of mountainous country, there might be in the valleys, or between the hills, some bottom land which, in the progress of settlements, would be of value. But they did not stop here; for finding a general spirit of migration was taking place from every part of the Atlantic, to the Western country, and that the reputation of the fine lands upon the Ohio, particularly those of Kentucky, were every day advancing in estimation, they determined to have their surveys made out in the most artful manner, by having for corner trees, such kinds as are never known to grow but in the most fertile soil, and which may always be found in the narrow strips of bottom land, and the plots embellished with the greatest elegance, displaying fine water courses, mill seats, (where perhaps there will not be a grain of corn for half a century to come) plains, groves and meadows.

Hence proceeded so generally the business of land-jobbing—hence it is that there is to be seen in the  
Mercur-



Mercuries throughout Europe, such immense tracts of land in America offered for sale—and hence it is that so many persons have cause to complain of having been deceived in the accounts which have been given of land they have purchased.

I had given such an account in this work, of the good and indifferent veins of land, which I believed would have directed every purchaser of such land against the danger of imposition; but as I have been informed, that land-jobbers have considered it as a work favourable to their views, I shall here make some remarks, which, if attended to, will infallibly prevent frauds.

The country that separates the back counties of Virginia from Kentucky, is, the greater part of it, mountainous, and through which, to its champaign lands, is nearly 250 miles, the whole of that tract of wilderness extending from Holston nearly north, crossing Great Sandy River, the Great and Little Kanhaways, quite into the fine lands in the district belonging to Pennsylvania, exclusive of some small tracts in the upper counties of Virginia upon the Ohio, all of which are occupied, is altogether broken into high, rugged, and barren hills, the bottoms excepted, and, in all probability, will not be inhabited for centuries to come, by reason of the immense tracts of good land lying west of the Ohio and Mississippi; and that tract of country lying southerly from Holston, and extending to Cumberland, Powell's Valley, Nolachusky, French Broad, and Clinch excepted, is little better.

Besides, Kentucky itself extends a considerable distance into these broken tracts of country, and perhaps it is only possible for a stranger to guard against imposition, by making one of the conditions of his

contract, that it shall be of such a rate of land. *i. e.* The different soils have been classed by the general consent of the people, and are well understood by the distinction of first, second, third and fourth rate land; the last is the lowest rate, I am convinced, that any person would settle upon, and the difference of its value, in my opinion, is as two to one in the ratio of its rate.

Now, the greater part of the broken tracts of country would not come under either of these denominations; consequently, if these hints should be attended to, and sufficient security given for a performance of the agreement of the contracting parties upon such principles, to which no honest person would object, imposition would be effectually prevented.

<sup>c</sup> page 40, line 19, after the word *vine*—The Illinois country is in general of a superior soil to any part of North America that I have seen. It produces fine oak, hickory, cedar, mulberry trees, &c. some dying roots, and medicinal plants; hops, and excellent wild grapes; and, in the year 1769, one hundred and ten hogheads of well tasted and strong wine were made by the French settlers from these grapes.

HUTCHINS.

<sup>d</sup> page 41, line 19, at the word *river*—Cumberland river is 250 yards wide at its mouth; its current gentle, and it is navigable upwards of 200 miles from its mouth.

<sup>e</sup> page 54, line 1, at the word *cutting*—Those canals will be finished in the course of 1793.

<sup>f</sup> page 55, line 7, at the word *Kanbaway*—This river at its mouth is nearly 500 yards wide, and the current gentle for about 10 or 12 miles, when it becomes

comes considerably rapid for upwards of 60 miles farther, where you meet with the first falls, when it becomes almost impossible to navigate it from the great number of obstructions which its various cataracts present.

<sup>g</sup> page 59, line 3, at the word *creek*—This river is about 200 yards wide at its mouth, and its principal branch is navigable nearly 70 miles.

<sup>h</sup> page 60, line 14, at the word *Lick*—There are two salt springs upon Licking, both of which are now worked with success.

<sup>i</sup> page 66, line 5, at the word *river*—This river is about 150 yards wide at its mouth, its current is gentle, and its principal branch is navigable about 60 miles.

<sup>k</sup> page 67, line 13, at the word *river*—Green river is upwards of 200 yards wide at its mouth, its current is gentle, and is navigable nearly 150 miles.

<sup>l</sup> page 70, line 12, at the word *Ohio*—The Tennessee is 600 yards wide at its mouth, and upon ascending it, to the distance of 260 miles, it widens to between two and three miles, which width it continues for nearly thirty miles, and which comprehends what is called the Great Bend.

Thus far it is navigable without any obstruction, and, some trifling falls excepted, it may be navigated at least 600 miles farther.

<sup>m</sup> page 76, line 7, at the word *Wabash*—The Wabash is nearly 300 yards wide at its mouth, and except some inconsiderable rapids, it is navigable upwards of 400 miles.

<sup>n</sup> page *ibid*, line 26, at the word *river*—The Illinois is a fine gentle river, and navigable to its source

for batteaux. Its width is various—in places it is nearly half a mile : but its general breadth may be considered about 250 yards.

° page 76, line 29, at the word *Detroit*—The Illinois river furnishes a communication with Lake Michigan by the Chiago river, and by two portages between the latter and Illinois river ; the longest of which is only four miles. HUTCHINS.

P page 78, line 22, at the word *flooded*—Great Miami is about 300 yards wide at its mouth, is a rapid stream, but without cataracts, with several large branches navigable for batteaux a long way up : the principal of which interlocks with a branch of the Miami river, which runs into lake Erie, to which there is a portage, and a third has a passage to Sandusky.

Sciota is about 200 yards wide at its mouth, its current gentle, and is navigable for nearly two hundred miles to a portage of only five or six miles to Sandusky.

Muskingum is a fine gentle river, confined by high banks, which prevents its floods from overflowing the surrounding country. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable, without any obstructions, by large batteaux, to a little lake at its head ; from thence to Cayahoga, a creek that empties into Lake Erie, is not above two miles ; and which must become the best portage between that lake and the Ohio.

Cayahoga at its mouth is wide and deep enough to receive large sloops from the lake.

Sandusky is a considerable river that empties into Lake Erie ; its stream is gentle, and large enough at its mouth to receive sloops.

\* page 96, line 21, at the word *Wood*—Lake Ontario is about 600 miles in circumference, Lake Erie nearly 300, Lake St. Clair about 90, Lake Huron is reckoned 1000, and Lake Superior between 15 and 1600.

The Lake of the Wood from east to west is about 70 miles, and its greatest breadth about forty.

Lake Michigan is divided on the north-east from Lake Huron by the Straights of Michillimacknac. Its greatest length is 230 miles, its breadth about 60, and its circumference nearly 600.

On the north west parts of this lake its waters branch out into two bays; that which lies towards the north is Noquet's Bay, and the other Puan's, or Green Bay.

The waters of this, as well as the other great lakes are clear, wholesome, abound in fish, and are of sufficient depth for the navigation of ships.

It is worth observing, that some of these lakes, in magnitude, are almost equal to the seas of Europe; and though there is not an immediate communication for ships with the Atlantic ocean, yet the advantages they must afford to the operations of commerce will prove not only very considerable, but, I conceive, will be nearly as beneficial as open seas, when the surrounding countries are under the same government, and influenced by reciprocal interest.

\* page 97, line 2, at the word *limits*—Colonel Gordon, in his Journal, says, "that this country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be the most healthy, the most pleasant, and most fertile spot of earth known to European people."

\* page 124, line 24, at the word *trade*—The following just and judicious observations were addressed



to the Earl of Hillsborough, in the year 1770, when Secretary of State for the North American Department :

“ No part of North America will require less encouragement for the production of naval stores, and raw materials for manufactories in Europe, and for supplying the West India Islands with *lumber, provisions, &c.* than the country of the Ohio ; and for the following reasons :

First, The lands are excellent, the climate temperate, the native grapes, silk worms, and mulberry trees, abound every where ; hemp, hops, and rye grow spontaneously in the valleys and low lands ; lead and iron are plenty in the hills ; salt springs are innumerable ; and no soil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

Second, The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other ; by which, and a short land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now, (in the year 1772) be sent cheaper to the sea-port town of Alexandria, on the Potomac river in Virginia, (where the troops of General Braddock landed) than any kind of merchandize is sent from Northampton to London.

Third, The river Ohio is, at all times of the year, navigable with large boats, like the west country barges, rowed only by four or five men ; and from the month of February to April large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent to sea, laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, pot-ash, &c.

Fourth, Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles can be sent down the stream of the Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the West India

India islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New-York or Philadelphia, to those islands.

Fifth, Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles, may also be sent down the stream to the sea, at least 50 per cent. cheaper than these articles were ever carried by land carriage, of only 60 miles, in Pennsylvania; where waggonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

Sixth, The expence of transporting European manufactories from the sea to the Ohio, will not be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the countries of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever farmers or merchants of Ohio shall properly understand the business of transportation, they will build schooners, sloops, &c. on the Ohio, suitable for the West India or European markets; or, by having black walnut, cherry tree, oak, &c. properly sawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts in the manner that is now done by the settlers near the upper parts of the Delaware in Pennsylvania, and thereon flow their hemp, iron, tobacco, &c. and proceed with them to New Orleans.

It may not, perhaps, be amiss to observe, that large quantities of flour are made in the distant (western) countries of Pennsylvania, and sent by an expensive land-carriage to the city of Philadelphia, and from thence shipped to South Carolina, and to East and West Florida, their being little or no wheat raised in those provinces.

The river Ohio seems kindly designed by nature, as the channel through which the two Floridas may be supplied with flour; not only for their common consumption, but also for the carrying on an extensive commerce with Jamaica, and the Spanish settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Millstones in abundance

dance are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio; and the country is every where well watered with large and constant springs and streams for grist and other mills.

The passage from Philadelphia to Pennsacola is seldom made in less than a month, and sixty shillings per ton, freight, (consisting of sixteen barrels) is usually paid for flour, &c. thither. Boats carrying 800 or 1000 barrels of flour may go in about the same time from Pittsburg, as from Philadelphia to Pennsacola, and for half the above freight; the Ohio merchants would be able to deliver flour, &c. there in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charges of insurance, &c. as from thence to Pennsacola.

This is not mere speculation; for it is a fact, that about the year 1746, there was a great scarcity of provisions at New Orleans; and the French settlements at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither in one winter upwards of eight hundred thousand weight of flour."

\* page 110, line 13, at the word *York*—That state passed an Act of Assembly in July 1792, for removing all obstructions between Hudson's river and Lake Ontario; by which means, when it is done, there will be an inland navigation, taking its various courses of nearly 2000 miles in extent.

" page 110, line 24, at the word *miles*—Some of these have been noticed in a former note.

\* page 111, line 20, at the word *letter*—Colonel Gordon, in his journal down the Ohio mentions, " That those falls do not deserve that name, as the stream on the north side has no sudden pitch, but only runs over a ledge of rocks. Several boats, he  
says,

says, passed them in the driest season of the year, unloading half of their freight. They passed on the north side, where the carrying place is three quarters of a mile long; on the south-east side, it is about half that distance, and is reckoned the safest passage for those who are unacquainted with it; but it is the most tedious, as, during part of the summer, and autumn, the batteaux-men drag their boats over the rock. The fall is about half a mile rapid water, which, however, is passable, by wading and dragging the boat against the stream when lowest, and with still greater ease when the water is raised a little."

✓ page 113, line 20, at the word *Sea*—Besides the several channels of the communications already mentioned, there are two others which, in a very few years, will be opened; as the Pennsylvanians have already turned their attention toward them.

One from Lake Erie to a place called Le Bœuf, down the Allegany, to a river called Kiskiminitas, then up the same a certain distance, and from thence by a short portage to a branch of the Susquehanna, called Juniata. The other is from Lake Ontario to the east branch of the Delaware, which it is said will not be attended with much difficulty; and which will be a direct communication between Philadelphia and that Lake.

There is a ridge of hills, generally called the Shining Mountains, which begin at Mexico, and continue to the east of California, that separate the water of those rivers which fall either into the gulf of that peninsula, or the Gulf of Mexico. From thence, as they continue their course northward, between the waters of the Mississippi, and the rivers that empty themselves into the Pacific Ocean, and end in about lat. 48 or 49, where several rivers have their sources, which



which either run into Hudson's Bay, or the South Sea.

These hills lying nearly parallel with the Allegany Mountains, a considerable distance from the Pacific Sea, forms, if it may be so called, a great valley, which constitutes what is called the Western Country of America, and is nearly in the centre of this vast continent.

In reflecting upon the object of the federal government, and the rapid strides it is making, it appears rather puerile in the United States thinking to make the seat of their government permanent upon the Powtomac; or at least it would be so, to run the country to heavy expences, when it is obvious that posterity will, in the course of a century at farthest, remove it to the Mississippi, which is the most central, and consequently the proper place. By that means the efficiency of the federal government will act like the vital fluid which is propelled from the heart, and give motion and energy to every extremity of the empire.

The country between Cape Florida and Cape North, the southern head-land of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, lies between lat. 25 and 48, and west long. 82 and 66; and the country between California and Nootka Sound, between lat. 30 and 47, and west long. 118 and 128, which is a distance between 15 and 1600 miles from north to south, and between 2500 and 3000 from east to west; so that if we take the medium, and make an allowance for the probable extension of the United States both to the northward and southward, it appears pretty clearly, that a spot upon the Mississippi, nearly lat. 44, I think upon Lake Pepin, or at St. Anthony's falls, ought to be



be placed the permanent seat of the federal government.

From a point lat. 44, upon the Atlantic coast, and running from thence a due west line, until it strikes the Mississippi, is a distance of nearly 1200 miles, and from thence to the Pacific coast, continuing the same line, it is something more; but the difference is immaterial, while the communications from thence would be facilitated to every part of the empire, by the peculiar advantages of the various navigable rivers that have their sources in the same neighbourhood. Carver has described them as follows.

“ The four most capital rivers in America, *i. e.* the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon, or Red River, and the Oregon, have their sources in the same neighbourhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter is farther west.

“ This shews that these parts are the highest land in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled on the other three quarters of the globe, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together; and each, after running several courses, discharge their waters into different oceans, at the distance of 2000 miles from their sources. For in their passage from this spot, to the Bay of St. Lawrence east, to the Bay of Mexico south, to Hudson’s Bay north, and to the Bay of the Straights of Anian west, each of these traverse upwards of 2000 miles.”

Besides, the same author has described those places, and the truth of which is supported by the testimony of other travellers with whom I have conversed,

as one of the most beautiful countries upon the earth. These are his words :

“ The Mississippi below Lake Pepin, flows with a gentle current, but the breadth is very uncertain, in some places it being upwards of a mile, in others not more than a quarter.

“ This river has a range of mountains throughout the whole way, which in particular places approach near to it, in others lie at a greater distance.

“ The land between the mountains on either side, is generally covered with grass, with a few groves of trees interspersed, near which large droves of deer and elk are frequently seen feeding.

“ In many places, pyramids of rocks appeared, resembling old ruinous towers ; at others, amazing precipices :—and what is very remarkable, whilst this scene presented itself on one side, the opposite side of the same mountain was covered with the finest herbage, which gradually ascended to its summit. From thence the most beautiful prospect that the imagination can form opens to your view.

“ Verdant plains, fruitful meadows, numerous islands, and all abounding with a variety of trees that yield amazing quantities of fruit without care or cultivation : such as the nut tree, the maple, which produces sugar, vines loaded with delicious grapes, and plumb trees bending under their blooming burdens ;—but above all, the winding river flowing gently beneath, and reaching as far as the eye can extend, by turns attract your admiration, and excite your wonder. The Lake is about 20 miles long, and nearly 6 in breadth.

“ The Mississippi, as far as the entrance of the river St. Croix, about forty miles above Lake Pepin, is very full of islands ; some of which are of a considerable

siderable length. On these also grow great numbers of the sugar tree, and around them vines loaded with grapes creeping to their very tops. From the lake a few small mountains are to be seen.

“ The river St. Pierre flows through a most delightful country, abounding with all the necessaries of life, which grow spontaneously ; and with a little cultivation it might be made to produce its luxuries.

“ Wild rice grows here in great abundance, and every part is filled with trees bending under their loads of fruit ; such as plumbs, grapes, and apples —The meadows are covered with hops and many sorts of vegetables ; while the ground is strewed with useful roots ;---with angelica, spikenard, and ground nuts as large as hens eggs.

“ A little distance from the river are eminences from which you have views that cannot be exceeded for their variety and beauty ;--amidst these are delightful groves, and such amazing quantities of the sugar tree, that they would produce sugar sufficient for any number of inhabitants.

“ A little way from the mouth of this river, on, the north side of it, stands a hill, one part of which that toward the Mississippi, is composed entirely of white stone of a soft nature. But what appears remarkable, is, that the colour of it is as white as the driven snow. The outward part of it was crumbled by the wind and weather into heaps of sand, of which a beautiful composition might be made ; or, I am of opinion, that when properly treated, the stone itself would grow harder by time, and have a very noble effect in architecture.

“ Near that branch which is termed the Marble River, is a mountain, from whence the Indians get

a sort of whetstone, out of which they hew the bowls of their pipes. This country likewise abounds with a milk-white clay, of which china-ware might be made, equal in goodness to the Asiatic.

"At the falls of St. Anthony the Mississippi is above 250 yards wide, and forms a most delightful cataract. The fall is thirty feet perpendicular, and the rapids below is about 300 yards more, render the descent considerably greater; so that when viewed at a distance they appear to be much higher than they really are.

"The country round is extremely beautiful---It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief; but it is composed of many ascents, which are covered with the finest verdure, and interspersed with little groves, that give a pleasing variety to the prospect.

"On the whole, when the falls are included, which may be seen at the distance of four miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view cannot, I believe, be found throughout the universe.

"The country, about 60 miles above the falls, to the river St. Francis, is in some places hilly, but without mountains; and the land is tolerably good. A little above this, to the north-east, are a number of small lakes, called the Thousand Lakes;---the country about which, though but little frequented, is the best within many miles for hunting, as the hunter never fails returning loaded beyond his expectations. The Mississippi here begins to grow small, it being not above 90 yards wide."

Other travellers agree with Carver, also, in saying that there is a considerable proportion of good land upon Lake Superior and upon Red River---They describe the country about Lake Winnepeck, which  
lies

Nes to the north-west of Lake Superior, as very fertile; it producing vast quantities of rice, which grows spontaneously; and say, that the sugar tree grows in great plenty; which, if true, not only proves the soil must be very fruitful, as they never grow in different land; but that the climate must be considerably more temperate here than it is upon the Atlantic coast 10 degrees farther southward; for I never heard of a sugar tree being seen on the eastern coast of America as far north as lat. 43°. This opinion is confirmed by the following remarks made by Carver.

“ I can from my own knowledge affirm, that I found the winter I past to the westward of the Mississippi far from severe; and the north winds blowing on those countries, considerably more temperate than I have often experienced them to be nearer the coast;” (meaning the Atlantic coast) “ and that this did not arise from an uncertainty of the seasons, but was annually the case, I conclude, both from the small quantity of the snow that fell, and a total disuse of snow shoes by the Indians, without which none of the more eastern nations can possibly travel during the winter.”

When it is remembered, that the settlements of the United States, have extended, in little more than a century, upwards of 600 miles back from the Atlantic, under the influence of almost continual Indian wars, exclusive of many other causes which operated to retard their growth, and which are incidental to the rise of all infant countries circumstanced in the peculiar manner that America was; and that it is not only probable, but morally certain, that the present strength of the settlements west of the Alleghany mountains, must in the course of a very few

X 2

years



years secure them from all invasion ; it appears to me to be an object of the greatest importance with the present federal government to look forward to a circumstance, upon which the perfection of their political system depends : and it is the more so, as the present æra of reason puts in their power to extend the advantages of civilization with an accelerated force, to which no period that we are acquainted with in the annals of man, has been equally auspicious.

This object has not escaped many of our most penetrating legislators ; and perhaps the sentiment would have been general, if there had been time, since our independence, for the habits of life, and the influence of education, to be done away. But the system of the aggrandizing commerce, which originated in Europe, had been transplanted upon the shores of this continent, and has taken such deep root, as in some instances to militate, to the injury of philosophy, and the happiness of mankind--Hence it has happened that spirit of selfishness which is the characteristic of prejudice, folly, and impolicy, has sometimes betrayed its features in the decisions of our union.

That this should have happened is not in the least extraordinary ; but it is to be presumed, since the Europeans are beginning to follow our example, it will give stability to those wavering characters, which will always be found among men who have not judgement sufficient to discover the principles of a just policy, nor the firmness to adopt them without the countenance of others ; so it has happened, that there have been found evil geniuses, or ignorance, which have reprobated the sublime and reasonable views of the union as chimerical.

The advantages of peace have been clearly ascertained

tained by the most enlightened nations of Europe after struggles for dominion that have cost them millions of lives, and brought a load of evils upon themselves, which nothing but Herculean strength would be able to support: but if man has been treated hitherto as a beast of burthen, the most enlightened philosophers, particularly Dr. Adam Smith, have proved these benefits, and the folly of colonization.

I therefore think when we contemplate the progress of reason, the peculiar nature of the federal government, and the singular circumstance of a people of one entire continent speaking the same language, it seems that nothing short of a revolution in the natural intellects of men, can frustrate the design.

I have entered into these minutiae by way of illustrating, as far as the subject required, and my abilities would permit, to shew the advantages of the system of government adopted by America; and at the same time to shew that the country toward the head waters of the Mississippi is beautiful, rich, and abounding in all the varieties of nature necessary to support and embellish a great capital.

<sup>z</sup> page 126, line 5, at the word *Falls*—This you will find mentioned in a note extracted from his book, in the preceding part of this work.

<sup>aa</sup> page 134, line 1, at the word *erected*—A house of this sort may be made as comfortable and elegant as any other kind of building; and is therefore the most convenient, as it may be erected in such a manner as to answer the circumstances of all descriptions of persons.

<sup>bb</sup> page 144, line 5, at the word *Philadelphia*—  
X 3 The

The distances in the settled parts only can be computed with any degree of exactitude; but from the best information that can be collected, from the Rapids of the Ohio to Santa Fe is about 1000 miles, and from thence to the city of Mexico about 1500.

The computed distance between New Orleans and Mexico is somewhat short of 2000 miles, and about the same to Santa Fe.

cc page 144, line 17, at the word *danger*---This road has been considerably improved, and a post now passes weekly through it from Philadelphia to Kentucky.

dd page 145, line 4, at the word *Potowmac*---There are two considerable falls in the Potowmac, one about twelve miles above Alexandria, the other nearly thirty, and when these canals are completed, which most probably will be the latter end of 1793, its navigation will be carried quite into the Allegany mountains.

ee page 199, line 24, at the word *The*---The live oak grows in quantity sufficient, between the Mississippi and the River St. Joseph, as would be equal to build and support a navy superior to the maritime strength of Europe combined together, and which is acknowledged to be the most lasting and best calculated for ships of war of any kind of timber that has been used for that purpose.

ff page 212, line 16, at the word *reflection*---Since this letter was written I have been able to ascertain more particularly the object of the expedition conducted by General St. Clair, and the cause of his being defeated.

By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged

ledged the independence of the United States, it was stipulated and agreed to by Great Britain, that the fortresses of Niagara and Detroit should be delivered up to the United States as immediately as it could be done with convenience. Whether it proceeded from the representations made by the government of Canada to the ministers of Great Britain, or not, I cannot presume to determine; but it is certain those places are properly considered of more importance than was at first imagined by the British Court; and it is an indubitable truth, the moment they are possessed by the Americans, that instant the English fur trade of Canada will be reduced more than one half of what it is at present.

This declaration, as it comes from an American, may be considered as impolitic; but I have thrown it out purposely to shew how little the faith of treaties are to be depended upon, when they are found to clash with the important interests of the contracting parties,---and as I consider every species of policy, which has not integrity for its basis, mean and contemptible.

As the United States had waited more than seven years in expectation that the British Government would fulfil this engagement, and finding that it was not then convenient for them to abandon those forts, they determined to establish a garrison at the mouth of the Miami of the lake which was to have been supported by a chain of communication with Pittsburg, for the acquisition of this purpose was the object of this expedition.

Fort Washington, at the mouth of the Muskingum, and Fort Jefferson, between the head waters of the Sciota and St. Mary's river, which empties into

into Lake Erie, a short distance from Sandusky, had been previously established ; and the next object was to establish a third, south east of Sandusky, upon those ridges of hills where the waters of the lake, and those of the Ohio, take different directions.

Had this plan been effected, though the Indians might at times have harrassed those posts, still the purpose for which they would have been created must have answered ; as it is impossible for them to carry on their attacks regularly, or for any length of time, by reason of their desultory manner of living ; and thus, by our becoming permanently fixed upon the lake, we should at once give a decided blow to your trade in Canada ; for it was the intention of the federal government, not to permit any person to trade within the limits of the United States in that quarter, without a written privilege for that purpose, signed by the President of Congress.

The army of General St. Clair, which was to have atchieved this arduous end, amounted to about 1400 men, great part of which were militia ; and most of the others, inconceivable as it may appear ; were recruited from the sea-port towns upon the Atlantic ; and of course were composed of men who were totally unacquainted with the Indian manner of fighting ;---indeed a large proportion of them were Europeans.

General St. Clair had advanced between twenty and thirty miles in front of Fort Jefferson in his course toward Lake Erie, when about sixty of the militia deserted with an intention to return to their respective homes, after whom he dispatched 300 of his men, they consisting of the only old troops he had



had in his army; and it was in the absence of this detachment, that his army was attacked, just at the break of day; after the troops, most imprudently, had left the parade at which they had been some time before it was light, according to the custom in Indian war, though his outposts had been attacked incessantly during the whole night, and several of his centinels killed. The Indians, finding the army was thin of their guard, rushed upon them with such impetuosity, as to prevent their being able to form, or to act with any vigour or precision.

This grand object has not been abandoned by the federal government, and for the purpose of carrying it into execution, by measures more wise, and means more certain, than had been pursued hitherto, 3000 federal troops, with a legion of 1200 horse and foot, are to be kept in continual pay; and while the different garrisons are to over-awe the Indians, the legion is to scour the country round, so as to secure the settlements on the west side of the Ohio from their attacks, and thus by progressive and permanent establishments ward off the dangers of irregular and predatory warfare.

This system has already produced a very important effect:—the more intelligent Indian chiefs are so perfectly sensible, that it is now in vain for them to contend against a palladium, which is daily invigorated by the current of emigration, which, like a perennial plant, shews no signs of decay, that they have promised to punish those audacious fugitives, who murdered our Commissioners that were going to their nations for the purpose of offering them peace; and have also agreed to a cessation of hostilities while the preliminaries are settling; so that I have

have no hesitation in declaring it as my opinion that, if the present measures are pursued with wisdom and vigour, there will be a speedy end to war and massacre in that quarter, and the whole western country must then enjoy that repose, which has so often and so fatally been disturbed by the incendiaries both of Canada and Louisiana.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.















Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process.  
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide  
Treatment Date: Dec. 2003

**PreservationTechnologies**

**A WORLD LEADER IN PAPER PRESERVATION**

111 Thomson Park Drive  
Cranberry Township, PA 16066  
(724) 779-2111

